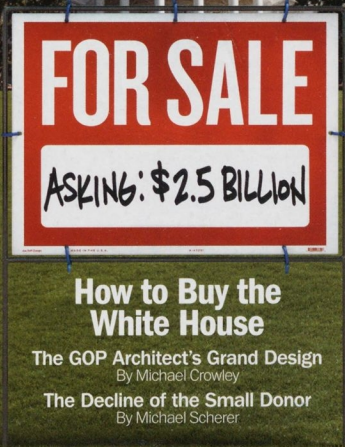


Jerusalem Divided / Vapid Campaign By Joe Klein / The Fierce Five

TIME

A large red and white 'FOR SALE' sign is positioned in the foreground on a green lawn. The sign has 'FOR SALE' in large white letters on a red background, and 'ASKING: \$2.5 BILLION' in black handwritten-style letters on a white background. The sign is held up by blue ties. In the background, the White House is visible under a clear blue sky.

FOR SALE

ASKING: \$2.5 BILLION

**How to Buy the
White House**

The GOP Architect's Grand Design
By Michael Crowley

The Decline of the Small Donor
By Michael Scherer

PUSCHLAV (SWITZERLAND), 2005

THE HELPER

During an excursion to the Swiss mountain region of Puschlav, our train stopped suddenly on the tracks. Curious, my wife and I stuck our heads out of the window to see thick smoke coming from one end of the train. The train conductor and driver had disembarked the train, discussing rapidly how best to deal with the problem. Finally, a passenger seated under our window asked for a pocket tool. I dug out my Victorinox Swiss Army Knife. A few minutes later following some amateur engineering, the train began moving again. The conductor later returned my Swiss Army Knife, saying he'd used it to fix the loose stud bolt of the brake hose. He thanked me excessively - as if I were a hero. I decided to suggest to the Swiss Federal Railways (SBB) that all members of the train crew be equipped with Victorinox Swiss Army Knives.

Dieter Portmann, August 2005

Victorinox products are a companion for life. What experiences have you had with Victorinox products? Share your story at victorinox.com





VICTORINOX
SWISS ARMY

COMPANION FOR LIFE



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Photo-illustration by
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Susan Walsh—AP

Ultra-Orthodox Jews in Jerusalem attend the funeral of an influential rabbi on July 18. Photograph by Oded Balilty—AP for TIME

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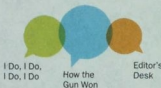
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Editor's Desk

TIME stories that elicited the most mail



Following the Money



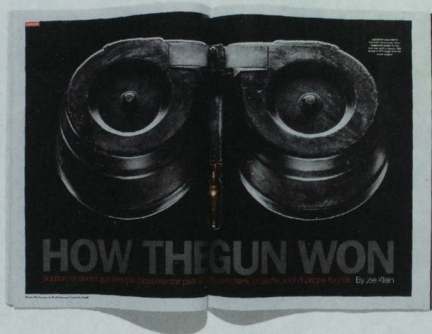
MONEY IN POLITICS IS NOT inherently bad—or good. It's all in how it's used. If the billions of dollars that will be raised this year were spent on public-service announcements explaining the limited powers of the three branches of government, you'd probably say that was a good thing. But of course we know that's not the case. The lion's share of money in the 2012 presidential campaign will be spent on negative ads, which are effective though not edifying. And the fact that a new legal landscape has given the green light to more undisclosed money than ever before is not making our elections more transparent or enlightening.

This week we wanted to explore what is likely to be the most expensive political campaign in U.S. history—and perhaps the most negative. To get to the bottom of the way money is influencing this election, we sent senior correspondent Michael Crowley to see Karl Rove, the former Bush White House strategist, who has reinvented himself as the mastermind of the new Republican cash machine. Mike goes inside the operation and explains how Rove still hopes to achieve a durable Republican majority. Meanwhile, White House correspondent Michael Scherer went to Chicago to observe the Obama campaign's fundraising strategy. His story explains how the Obama folks are prepared to be outspent by the Republicans, an idea that was almost inconceivable a couple of years ago.

If you live in a swing state, you won't be able to avoid the ads. My advice is not to pay too much attention to them and to focus instead on which candidate has a better vision for the future.

Rick

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR



THE CONVERSATION

'It is unbelievable how much ammo he could buy.'

TIME's Facebook page rumbled with comments like that one from **Nalini Vanessa Dhar**, who was responding to our Aug. 6 cover story, "**How the Gun Won.**" Libertarian readers were quick to defend gun rights in the wake of the Aurora, Colo., shootings. "Crazy people kill a few dozen people. Dictators kill millions of people,"

AlCelestial wrote on TIME.com. "The right to bear arms is the final guarantor for freedom." Fellow Swampland commenter **derek22** agreed: "If you want to control a country, first you must disarm its people. That's why we have weapons like this." Elsewhere, music critics and fans talked about Aerosmith rock god **Steven Tyler's** 10 Questions interview, which prompted **@BrianReich** to tweet, "Never thought I would say this, but I agree with Steven Tyler: AC/DC is the best rock-'n'-roll band on the planet." **@ChattingCat** was less restrained: "Steven Tyler is freaking awesome. I want to be like him, minus the drugs."

Up Next...

TIME.com is launching the Month in Space, a recurring roundup of the most vivid images of the sun and other cosmic entities. The new gallery, posted on Aug. 2, includes a Hubble Space Telescope photo of U Camelopardalis, below, which is about 1,500 light-years from Earth. The dying star, a rare kind whose atmosphere contains more carbon than oxygen, ejects a nearly spherical shell of gas every few thousand years. Find it and other wonders at time.com/monthinspace.



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MAIL



Gun Control

Joe Klein's cover story does a good job of presenting information on mass shootings [Aug. 6]. But day-to-day gun violence is a bigger problem. Minor arguments

between family members are routinely settled with guns. The U.S.'s youth homicide rate is significantly higher than that of other leading industrial countries. Sensible gun control could reduce the carnage.

Charles E. Wilson, WINSTON-SALEM, N.C.

Editor Richard Stengel's comment that "an AR-15 has little or no sporting purpose" is exactly the kind of inaccuracy that sends reasonable people running to the National Rifle Association. AR-15s and guns like them are used extensively in hunting and organized competitive shooting. The issue that should be addressed is high-capacity magazines.

Michael R. Gallagher,
Colonel (ret.), U.S. Air Force,
HILLSBORO, ORE.

Klein says there is no "rational... reason ... to have a semiautomatic weapon." In the interest of continuing a civil conversation, allow me to state my rational reason for owning a semiautomatic. The first gun purchased in my youth was a .22-caliber rifle that is semiautomatic. I still have it, and I have used it to put food on the table, taught my children to shoot safely, and most important, enjoyed hours of fun target practice. If someone breaks into our home, I want my wife to have the option of a gun that fires a round with each pull of the trigger—a

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

► In "Cable Wars," we understated the number of recent broadcast blackouts [Aug. 6]. In the first six months of 2012, there were 69 blackouts, up from 51 in all of 2011 and 12 in 2010, according to the American Television Alliance.

► A quotation in Briefing by Tour de France winner Bradley Wiggins was accompanied by the wrong photo; the cyclist we showed was Jens Voigt.

WRITE TO US

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TIME.COM

Pyeongyang Power Couple

Thousands of online readers rushed to see our coverage of North Korea's announcement that new leader Kim Jong Un is a newlywed. The photos we posted of him and wife Ri Sol Ju led many to wonder whether the publicly affectionate First Couple was a harbinger of modernity—or yet another publicity stunt.



'Is there NOT one decent barber in all of North Korea?'
@DAVIDCANTER

'Is it just me or does he seem like a fairly nice person? At least on the surface? Nothing like that psycho stage queen of a father he had.'
SHAZOOO

'NICE PERSON?! That is definitely what North Korea is trying to make you think.'
HANNAH

'Unlike his father, he's letting women appear in public with skirts above their knees.'
JULIADESOTOROSI

'I really hope this man's Western education makes him compelled to facilitate a drastic societal and governmental change to his country, but I doubt it.'
@JACOBGREGNE

semiautomatic. We have no assault weapons, but we do have semiautomatic ones.

Donald G. Smith Jr., MITCHELL, IND.

Thank you for not putting the face of the Aurora, Colo., movie-theater murderer on the cover of TIME. You have added some decency to the dialogue about the shootings.

Albert Ikechukwu Ngene, MARIETTA, GA.

Since neither political party seems to be willing to address prevention of gun violence, I suggest that the most effective advocate for a sensible approach to guns is the individual National Rifle Association member. I suspect there are many who believe that firepower beyond hunting, target shooting and personal protection

is unnecessary and dangerous. Members should petition their leadership to take the forefront in requiring background checks for every purchase of firearms and in opposing the indiscriminate sale of assault weapons, large magazines and inordinate supplies of ammo. Mentally unstable people will not disappear, but such steps could dramatically decrease their ability to kill.

Michael Webster, HOUSTON

Rethinking Polygamy

Re "I Do, I Do, I Do, I Do" [Aug. 6]: I don't much care how many women a man loves, sleeps with or marries. But I do care if a household's primary breadwinner has 23 children. If he dies or becomes incapacitated before those kids are 18 years old, who picks up the bill for their support?

Elliott Oring, LONG BEACH, CALIF.

As the great-great-grandson of a Mormon polygamist, I believe that people like Joe Darger should be discouraged from entering into plural marriages. In a world with more than 7 billion people, overpopulation is becoming a very serious problem, and polygamists are contributing to it.

Don Adair, BOISE, IDAHO



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GECKONOMICS



an advanced lesson
in saving money on
car insurance

301

"Keep expenses low, and pass the savings on to our customers." Over 75 years later, GEICO still operates on this principle. In fact, you could say we wrote the book on saving people money on car insurance. Around here, we call it "GECKONOMICS."

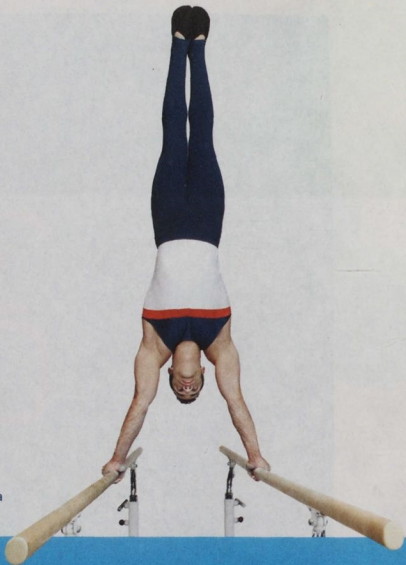
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Danell Leyva
Gymnastics

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Briefing

I'm quite happy there is a man in the world who can overcome my record, finally.'

1. LARISA LATYNINA, former Soviet gymnast, whose 18 Olympic medals were the most won by any athlete for 48 years—until U.S. swimmer Michael Phelps won his 19th medal on July 31

'Well, we've spent £9.3 billion on it, so I guess we better go and watch now.'

2. RON COOPER, a British boxing legend (and 1948 Olympian) who carried the Olympic torch, speaking before the opening ceremonies

'That was a mistake.'

3. DICK CHENEY, former U.S. Vice President, on John McCain's choosing a running mate, Sarah Palin, who was not "ready to take over"—a blunder he warned Mitt Romney not to repeat

'This is right for so many reasons. We're in for \$2.5 million.'

4. JEFF BEZOS, CEO of Amazon, pledging to help pass a same-sex marriage referendum in Washington State, days before the Democratic Party voted to add marriage equality as a plank in its platform

'Believe me, it will be enough.'

5. MARIO DRAGHI, president of the European Central Bank, vowing that the ECB would do everything in its power to save the euro



\$650 MILLION

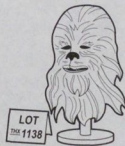
Estimated loss in U.S. productivity, thanks to people watching the Olympics at work

24.6%

Unemployment rate in Spain, a record high for the country

\$172,000

Auction price of a Chewbacca headpiece used in the original Star Wars trilogy



72%

Percentage drop in cocaine production in Colombia in the past decade due to joint drug-fighting efforts by the U.S. and Colombia

Briefing

LightBox

Last goodbye

Chantel Blunk stands near the coffin of her husband Jon, a five-year U.S. Navy veteran who was slain in the July 20 shooting massacre at a movie theater in Aurora, Colo.

Photograph by RJ Sangosti—Getty Images
lightbox.time.com





World



The Mitt Romney Gaffe-o-Meter

1 | EUROPE Mitt Romney's seven-day tour of England, Israel and Poland—during which he met with world leaders and organized a high-profile fundraiser—was supposed to highlight his foreign policy credentials. Instead, his and his team's often tactless remarks dominated headlines.



'Kiss my ass'

When members of the press started asking Romney about his gaffes as he was leaving a war memorial in Poland, his press secretary exploded, telling them to "kiss my ass." He later called to apologize.



'Special' Anglo-Saxon heritage

Before Romney's meeting with U.K. Prime Minister David Cameron, one of Romney's advisers said the "Anglo-Saxon heritage" they shared created "a special relationship." Cries of racism forced him to backpedal.



'Disconcerting' Olympics preparation

During an interview with NBC's Brian Williams in London, Romney said a few things were "disconcerting" about the city's Olympics prep, creating an uproar that earned him the nickname Mitt the Twit.



Israelis > Palestinians

Romney told Jewish donors that Israel has more "economic vitality" than areas under the Palestinian Authority because of "culture and a few other things," enraging Palestinian leaders who said he was out of touch with the realities of the Middle East.



U.K.

'Get me a rope, get me a ladder... I think the brakes got stuck.'

BORIS JOHNSON, mayor of London, who stalled midair while zip-lining through the city to celebrate the U.K.'s first gold medal at this year's Olympics. Authorities eventually helped him down

Ebola Returns to Africa

2 | UGANDA Last month 14 Ugandans died in an outbreak of the Ebola virus in the country's western district of Kibaale. It was the latest flare-up of the highly infectious disease, which causes massive bleeding and has a fatality rate of up to 90%. According to the World Health Organization, 36 suspected cases have been reported in the outbreak so far. Ebola is transmitted through direct contact with body fluids from infected humans or animals, and while the natural reservoir of the virus remains unknown, researchers believe it originated in the rain forests of Central Africa. Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni urged the public to minimize physical contact and avoid what he called "promiscuity" to prevent the spread of the disease.

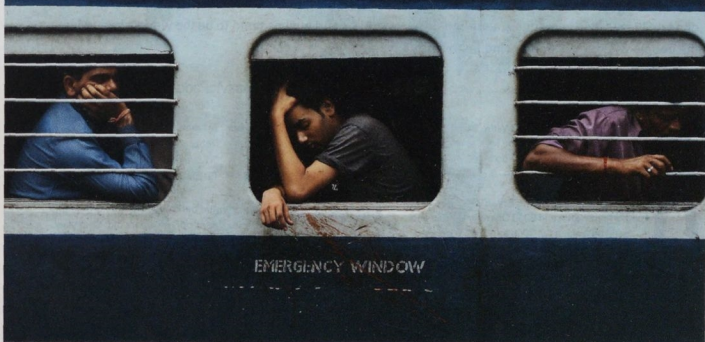
IRAN

\$6.51

Price per kilo of chicken in Iran (80,000 rials), which has doubled over the past year because of sanctions against Iran that have made it difficult to import feed

SEC

आपातकालीन खिड़की



Train to Nowhere

3 | INDIA Commuters in New Delhi wait in sweltering heat, their train stalled after the electricity grid failed across large swaths of northern and eastern India on July 31. The epic blackout, the worst in over a decade, deprived some 620 million people of power for six hours. It came just a day after a similar episode that affected more than 300 million. The incidents sparked outrage and hand wringing over India's woeful infrastructure.

Tokyo's Atomic-Powered Debate

4 | JAPAN Public anger over Japan's plans to restart its mothballed nuclear plants has led to a series of major protests, including a 200,000-person event at a Tokyo park on July 29. In response, some conservative Japanese politicians have argued that the country needs nuclear power plants for security. They contend that the Japanese government—decidedly anti-nuclear weapon—needs to keep its offensive options open. Meanwhile, several environmentalist politicians on July 30 launched Japan's first Green Party—one with a determined antinuclear focus.

Antinuclear activists in Japan want these turned off for good



The Battle of Aleppo

5 | SYRIA The chaotic, bloody Syrian civil war has spilled into Aleppo, the country's commercial capital and biggest city. Hundreds of thousands of civilians reportedly fled town as government fighter jets and helicopter gunships pounded rebel positions along Aleppo's winding historic streets. Both the rebels and the regime of President Bashar Assad warned that the battle for this pivotal city may go on for months.

History

Aleppo is one of the world's oldest cities. It has fallen under the control of a number of empires and survived plagues, earthquakes and the Mongols. **Saladin**, the famed Turkic Muslim general, used it as a base to take the fight to the Crusaders.



Wealth

For centuries, Aleppo was the end point of the Silk Road, a bustling entrepôt where merchants from Europe and elsewhere in the Arab world haggled for the riches of China and India. To this day, Aleppo's Sunni business elites wield influence, and for decades they provided crucial support to the Assad regime.



Heritage

UNESCO ranks Aleppo's old town as a World Heritage site. Its ancient Greco-Roman city planning is layered under preserved medieval bathhouses, suqs and caravansaries. In the heart of the city is the ancient **Citadel**, a once impregnable fortress.



Endgame

Bashar Assad has dug in his heels, but the war is nearing a tipping point. U.S. Defense Secretary Leon Panetta said Aleppo could be the "nail in the coffin" for the regime.



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Bryan Clay Athletics
(Decathlon)



Bryan's Wife, Sarah Clay
"He's the love of my life. I would do anything to help him reach his goals."

Sarah stood behind Bryan when he medaled in the 2004 and 2008 Olympic Games and won gold in the 2008 and 2010 World Indoor Championships. And even though he's earned the reputation of being the "World's Greatest Athlete," his family knows him as "Dad."



Tatyana McFadden Athletics
(Wheelchair — 100/400/800/1500m, Marathon)



Tatyana's Mother, Deborah McFadden
"I lead the cheering section for Tatyana. I'm her biggest fan."

Deborah adopted her from a Russian orphanage when Tatyana was only six years old. She has been cheering from the sidelines from Tatyana's first time in a wheelchair to her silver and bronze wins in the 2004 and 2008 Paralympic Games.



Rudy Garcia-Tolson Swimming
(200m IM, 100m Breaststroke)



Rudy's Coach, Dave Denniston
"I make sure he exceeds his potential."

After a spinal injury left Dave paralyzed from the waist down, he joined the U.S. Paralympic Swim Team and swam with Rudy in the 2008 Paralympic Games. Now he is Rudy's coach and has pushed him to set new world records. For 2012, he's pushing Rudy to win the gold.



Sanya Richards-Ross Athletics
(400m/200m, 4x100m Relay, 4x400m Relay)




Sanya's Coach, Clyde Hart
"We have a common goal, and that is to get an Olympic gold."

Coach Hart has been coaching track and field for over 50 years, and he brings that experience to every training session with Sanya. He's helped her win gold and bronze medals in the 2008 Olympic Games and her 2009 World Championship.

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Tatyana McFadden
U.S. Paralympian

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TEAM USA: FUELING THEIR FUTURE

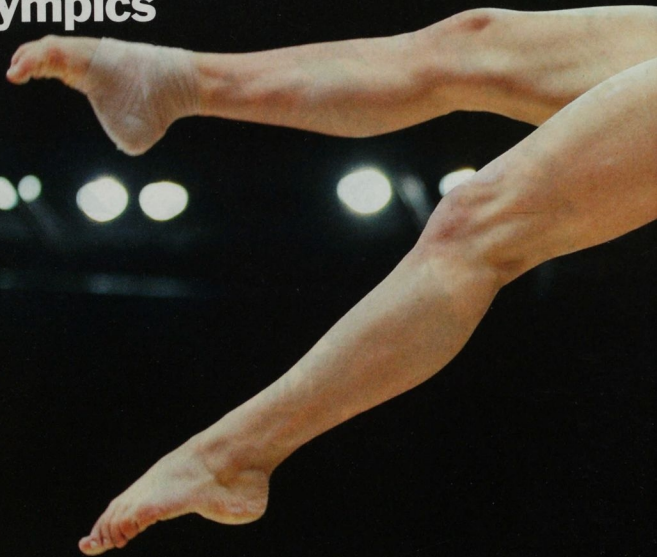


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Official Partner

Olympics



Who's Crying Now? A crushing personal defeat dissolves into a perfect team gold for the U.S.

By Alice Park

IT WAS THE QUESTION ON EVERYONE'S mind before the women's gymnastics team final on July 31: How did Jordyn Wieber feel? After missing the all-around final by 0.233 points, Wieber, the current world all-around champion, was crushed. Would she be able to pull it together for the team final and help the U.S. women win their first team gold in 16 years?

"I... am... fine" is what she told her coach, John Geddert, in a don't even bring it up answer to his question that morning. Later that day, walking into the arena before the competition, Wieber's mother Rita said Jordyn was "good but will be better once the team goes in there and rocks it."

And rock it they did. Wieber got the U.S. women off to a rousing start with an emphatic vault that erased any doubts about her recovery from

disappointment. Wieber, Gabrielle Douglas and McKayla Maroney performed the Amanar, the most difficult vault in competition. All three hardly budged on their landings after flying through the air in 2½ twists. Scoring an impressive 15.933, Wieber set the tone for what in gymnastics counts as a rout, while Maroney, the world champion in the event, threw off a textbook vault that earned the highest score of the night and will likely be used to teach gymnasts for years to come. "I think that was the best one I ever had in my life, and I'm really happy to be able to do that for the team," says Maroney. It took four Olympic Games, but the U.S. finally had its team gold.

The worries about the U.S. women's squad going into the team event were dispelled so quickly and

Airborne Wieber rebounded in the team event to put the U.S. in first place



so definitively that it was easy to forget that Wieber wasn't the only wild card. The talented Douglas, known as the Flying Squirrel, has also wavered during high-pressure meets. Not in London. "She did wonderful work and handled a tough job and big pressure," says her coach, Liang Chow.

Beginning with Wieber's stuck landing on the vault, the U.S. proceeded to knock off each event—vault, bars, beam and floor exercise—with impressive precision, making hardly a mistake among them. "If you look in the history of gymnastics, you see very few of them—very, very few of them," says legendary coach Bela Karolyi of teams able to produce 12 solid routines. "Back in the old days, from time to time the Soviet Union teams have done that trick, but ever since, I've never seen it."

Iceland's Icons A handball team rallies a broke nation

By Sean Gregory

"EES-LAAND! EES-LAAND! EES-LAAND!" a smattering of fans chanted as the Icelandic handball team put the finishing touches on its 31-25 win over Argentina in the opening game of the Olympic tournament. After the horn sounded, the teammates exchanged hugs and high fives and waved toward Olafur Ragnar Grímsson, the silver-haired President of the volcanic North Atlantic island nation. He applauded back, beaming.

As Grímsson filed out of the arena, he stopped for an impromptu interview. Some heads of state, it seems, are a bit more accessible than others. We start talking about the impact of this team in Iceland. "Handball, for us, has become not just a sport but the core of the national spirit," Grímsson says. Can anyone honestly say the same about any single U.S. Olympic team? No way. "I'm here not just as a great fan of the team," says the Icelandic

*Iceland's left back,
Gudjon Valur
Sigurðsson*

President, "but to also pay homage to what they've done."

No group of Olympic athletes is more crucial to a nation's psyche than the handball team from Iceland. Handball—essentially soccer but using hands instead of feet to fire a ball past a goalie—doesn't register in the U.S. or many other countries outside Europe. In Iceland, however, the sport is a national obsession. In 2008 the team delivered the greatest sports moment in the nation's history: a surprise silver in Beijing, losing to France in the final. Iceland became the smallest country ever to medal in an Olympic team sport. Some 40,000 people welcomed the team home in Reykjavík.

A few weeks after this euphoria, Iceland's economy cratered, one of the most spectacular crashes of the global financial crisis. "We had this extraordinary contrast," says Grímsson. The country's three biggest banks, taking advantage of European deregulation, had amassed assets that were nearly 10 times the country's GDP.

As the global markets fizzled, the government let the overextended banks fail. The value of the national currency, the krona, sank. The stock market dived, and inflation skyrocketed. In September 2008, Iceland had a 2.6% unemployment rate. Just eight months later, unemployment was at 11.2%. Few countries had fallen so far so fast.

During those terrible times, the sport served as a welcome diversion. "People would tell me, 'I don't have any money,'" says Asgeir Orn Hallgrímsson, an Icelandic

player, "but I have handball." In January 2010, with unemployment hovering near 8%, Iceland won another surprise medal: a bronze at the 2010 European championships.

The country's struggles motivated the team. "We wanted to do a good job for our nation," says Gudmundur Gudmundsson, Iceland's coach. "We were thinking about this, because a lot of people had a hard time."

Iceland's economy has bounced back. Unemployment is down to 5.2%, and GDP is growing at its fastest pace since before the collapse. Iceland repaid \$900 million in loans to the International Monetary Fund in March and an additional \$483.7 million in June.

Grímsson, who on June 30 was elected to a record fifth term as President, sticks by Iceland's choice to let the banks fail and suffer the consequences. He and other Icelanders give handball credit for the comeback too. "A nation, after an initial shock, decided to move forward," says Grímsson. "And the handball team played a big role in that."

Iceland beat Tunisia 32-22 in its second game, and it has a shot at another medal. As the President is leaving the arena, I ask him if he has any final thoughts. "My last word to the American audience is to start playing handball," Grímsson says. "It's a fun game."

Unflagged and Unflagging. Guor Marial's marathon

By Sean Gregory

GUOR MARIAL HAILS FROM SOUTH Sudan, which just celebrated its first birthday as a country, but he will compete as an independent athlete at the London Olympics, under the auspices of the International Olympic Committee (IOC). "It's like he's from nowhere," says Pere Miró, the IOC's director of relations with national Olympic committees.

Marial is a refugee from the

Can You
Believe What
You Just Saw?



Hope Solo, goal-keeper for the U.S. soccer team, had two shutouts in the first three games but won't shut up about television commentators



Called to duty, British military personnel filled seats at some early events after 12,000 sponsor tickets went unused

Michael Phelps broke Soviet gymnast Larisa Latynina's record when he collected his 19th medal in the 4 x 200-m free-style relay. Latynina, who won her 18th medal in 1964, was in the stands



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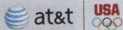
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Nation

Between the Lines

By Mark Halperin

► **Mitt Romney's** gaffes in England and Israel are unlikely to sway many swing voters, but political elites of all stripes were stunned by the mind-boggling unforced errors...► Romney's brain failed to remind his mouth that precision matters when you're speaking abroad, and he violated a second rule: a presidential candidate should never assume the role of political analyst or sociologist...► The Democrats' move to endorse same-sex marriage in their national party platform at the convention in Charlotte, N.C., is the logical culmination of overwhelming support for equality among staunch party allies, dramatic shifts in public opinion in recent years and **President Obama's** May public backing...► Both parties, now sharply divided on the subject, will draw some strength from the issue...► Democrats will continue to raise big contributions from gay-rights advocates, while the GOP will use targeted messaging through e-mails, flyers and Web ads to try to win over rural and conservative voters who dislike the development...► An upset victory by **Ted Cruz** over Texas Lieutenant Governor **David Dewhurst** in the GOP Senate primary produced a passel of other winners and losers...



► The victors: **Sarah Palin**, who endorsed Cruz; the free-market group Club for Growth, which helped Cruz with TV ads; Republican diversity, with another young Hispanic to promote; and most of all, the Twitter-driven Tea Party wing of the GOP, which zapped and slapped the superconservative Dewhurst as too Establishment to stomach...► The losers: Governor **Rick Perry**, who backed his deputy; Dewhurst's personal bank account, drained by more than \$20 million in a failed cause; and Republicans who think their party risks extinction by sacrificing any pretense of compromise in the name of ideological purity.



Q+A

Virgil Goode

Mitt Romney's biggest problem in the key swing state of Virginia may not be Barack Obama but a former Congressman by the name of Virgil Goode. The Democrat turned Independent turned Republican is running for President on the Constitution Party ticket—and is pulling nearly 9% in a recent poll of voters in his home state. If he gets on the Virginia ballot, Goode could pull enough voters away from Romney to single-handedly tip the state to Obama. TIME caught up with Goode recently in Farmville, Va.

How many states will have you on the ballot come November?
We're registered in 17 now and aim to be on the ballot in 40.

What is your campaign platform, in 15 seconds?
One: balance the budget now, not later. Two: get Americans jobs by ending illegal immigration and making legal immigration harder. Lastly: Impose term limits.

You are running as a conservative. In swing states like Virginia, isn't a vote for Goode effectively a vote for Obama?
No. I'm taking votes away

from Obama as well as Romney by returning to America's constitutional principles.

Has anyone from the Romney team tried to dissuade you from running?
No.

Aren't you a very long shot?
This is an opportunity for Americans to elect someone who is not backed by multi-million dollars like Republicans and Democrats. Maybe a day or two before the election, the American people will wake up and say, We've had enough.—ELIZABETH DIAS



Whose side is Virgil Goode on?

INDEX

\$3.3 million

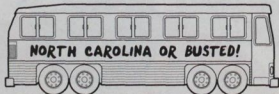
Amount donated to the Aurora Victim Relief Fund as of July 30. The money will be distributed to Denver-area nonprofits supporting the victims and their families

WORD OF THE WEEK

Un-doc-u-Bus

n. Name of the vehicle used by undocumented workers, students and families to cross the country and advocate immigration reform

See: Thirty UndocuBus riders departed Phoenix on July 29 for a five-week trek to the Democratic National Convention in Charlotte, N.C. Their goal: to proclaim "No papers, no fear" as they pass through states with controversial immigration policies, including Alabama and Georgia. A bail fund has been readied in case of arrests.



By Anna Christiansen, Elizabeth Dias and Alex Rogers

PHOTO: J. SCOTT APPELWORTH; GOODE: PHILIP SCOTT; ANDERSON: ROLL CALDWELL; MATH: ILLUSTRATION BY DENNIS BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME



"After 6 weeks on an antidepressant, I was still struggling with my depression. So I talked to my doctor."

If you've been on an antidepressant for at least 6 weeks and are still struggling with depression, having ABILIFY® (aripiprazole) added to your antidepressant may help with unresolved symptoms as early as 1-2 weeks.*

ABILIFY is a prescription medicine used to treat depression in adults as add-on treatment to an antidepressant when an antidepressant alone is not enough.

Important Safety Information

Elderly patients with dementia-related psychosis (eg, an inability to perform daily activities due to increased memory loss) taking ABILIFY have an increased risk of death or stroke. ABILIFY is not approved for treating these patients.

Antidepressants can increase suicidal thoughts and behaviors in children, teens, and young adults. Serious mental illnesses are themselves associated with an increase in the risk of suicide. When taking ABILIFY call your doctor right away if you have new or worsening depression symptoms, unusual changes in behavior, or thoughts of suicide. Patients and their caregivers should be especially observant within the first few months of treatment or after a change in dose. Approved only for adults 18 and over with depression.

- Call your doctor if you develop high fever, stiff muscles, confusion, sweating, changes in pulse, heart rate and blood pressure, as these may be signs of a condition called **neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS)**, a rare and serious condition that can lead to death
- If you have **diabetes** or have risk factors or symptoms of diabetes, your blood sugar should be monitored. High blood sugar has been reported with ABILIFY and medicines like it. In some cases, extremely high blood sugar can lead to coma or death
- **Changes in cholesterol and triglyceride (fat, also called lipids)** levels in the blood have been seen in patients taking medicines like ABILIFY
- You and your doctor should check your weight regularly since **weight gain** has been reported with medicines like ABILIFY

*Based on 6-week clinical studies comparing ABILIFY + antidepressant versus antidepressant alone.

- If you develop uncontrollable facial or body movements, call your doctor, as these may be signs of **tardive dyskinesia (TD)**. TD may not go away, even if you stop taking ABILIFY. TD may also start after you stop taking ABILIFY

- **Other risks** may include lightheadedness upon standing, decreases in white blood cells (which can be serious), seizures, trouble swallowing, or impairment in judgment or motor skills. Until you know how ABILIFY affects you, you should not drive or operate machinery

The common side effects in adults in clinical trials (≥10%) include nausea, vomiting, constipation, headache, dizziness, an inner sense of restlessness or need to move (akathisia), anxiety, insomnia and restlessness. Tell your doctor about all the medicines you're taking, since there are some risks for drug interactions. You should avoid alcohol while taking ABILIFY.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please read the additional Important Information about ABILIFY on the adjacent page.

Ask your doctor about the option of adding ABILIFY.



Learn about a **FREE trial offer** at ABILIFYStartingOffer.com or 1-800-865-2208

[†]Restrictions apply.



PATIENT ASSISTANCE FOUNDATION

This non-profit organization provides assistance to qualifying patients with financial hardship who generally have no prescription insurance. Contact 1-800-736-0003 or visit www.bmspa.org for more information.



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IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT ABILIFY (aripiprazole)

ABILIFY® (a-ri-pi-pra-zole) (aripiprazole)

ONLY

This summary of the Medication Guide contains risk and safety information for patients about ABILIFY. This summary does not include all information about ABILIFY and is not meant to take the place of discussions with your healthcare professional about your treatment. Please read this important information carefully before you start taking ABILIFY and discuss any questions about ABILIFY with your healthcare professional.

What is the most important information I should know about ABILIFY?

Serious side effects may happen when you take ABILIFY, including:

Increased risk of death in elderly patients with dementia-related psychosis:

Medicines like ABILIFY can raise the risk of death in elderly people who have lost touch with reality (psychosis) due to confusion and memory loss (dementia). ABILIFY is not approved for the treatment of patients with dementia-related psychosis.

Risk of suicidal thoughts or actions: Antidepressant medicines, depression and other serious mental illnesses, and suicidal thoughts or actions:

Antidepressant medicines may increase suicidal thoughts or actions in some children, teenagers, and young adults within the first few months of treatment. Depression and other serious mental illnesses are the most important causes of suicidal thoughts and actions. Some people may have a particularly high risk of having suicidal thoughts or actions including people who have (or have a family history of) bipolar illness (also called manic-depressive illness) or suicidal thoughts or actions.

How can I watch for and try to prevent suicidal thoughts and actions in myself or a family member?

- Pay close attention to any changes, especially sudden changes, in mood, behaviors, thoughts, or feelings. This is very important when an antidepressant medicine is started or when the dose is changed.
- Call the healthcare provider right away to report new or sudden changes in mood, behavior, thoughts, or feelings.
- Keep all follow-up visits with the healthcare provider as scheduled. Call the healthcare provider between visits as needed, especially if you have concerns about symptoms.

Call a healthcare provider right away if you or your family member has any of the following symptoms, especially if they are new, worse, or worry you:

- thoughts about suicide or dying, attempts to commit suicide, new or worse depression, new or worse anxiety, feeling very agitated or restless, panic attacks, trouble sleeping (insomnia), new or worse irritability, acting aggressive, being angry, or violent, acting on dangerous impulses, an extreme increase in activity and talking (mania), other unusual changes in behavior or mood.

What else do I need to know about antidepressant medicines?

- Never stop an antidepressant medicine without first talking to a healthcare provider. Stopping an antidepressant medicine suddenly can cause other symptoms.
- Antidepressants are medicines used to treat depression and other illnesses. It is important to discuss all the risks of treating depression and also the risks of not treating it. Patients and their families or other caregivers should discuss all treatment choices with the healthcare provider, not just the use of antidepressants.
- Antidepressant medicines have other side effects. Talk to the healthcare provider about the side effects of the medicine prescribed for you or your family member.
- Antidepressant medicines can interact with other medicines. Know all of the medicines that you or your family member takes. Keep a list of all medicines to show the healthcare provider. Do not start new medicines without first checking with your healthcare provider.
- Not all antidepressant medicines prescribed for children are FDA approved for use in children. Talk to your child's healthcare provider for more information.

What is ABILIFY (aripiprazole)?

ABILIFY is a prescription medicine used to treat:

- major depressive disorder in adults, as an add-on treatment to an antidepressant medicine when you do not get better with an antidepressant alone.

The symptoms of major depressive disorder (MDD) include feeling of sadness and emptiness, loss of interest in activities that you once enjoyed and loss of energy, problems focusing and making decisions, feeling of worthlessness or guilt, changes in sleep or eating patterns, and thoughts of death or suicide.

What should I tell my healthcare provider before taking ABILIFY?

Before taking ABILIFY, tell your healthcare provider if you have or had:

- diabetes or high blood sugar in you or your family; your healthcare provider should check your blood sugar before you start ABILIFY and also during therapy.
- seizures (convulsions).
- low or high blood pressure.
- heart problems or stroke.
- pregnancy or plans to become pregnant. It is not known if ABILIFY will harm your unborn baby.
- breast-feeding or plans to breast-feed. It is not known if ABILIFY will pass into your breast milk. You and your healthcare provider should decide if you will take ABILIFY or breast-feed. You should not do both.
- low white blood cell count.
- phenylethanolamine. ABILIFY DISC-MELT Orally Disintegrating Tablets contain phenylethanolamine.
- any other medical conditions.

Tell your healthcare provider about all the medicines that you take or recently have taken, including prescription medicines, non-prescription medicines, herbal supplements, and vitamins.

ABILIFY and other medicines may affect each other causing possible serious side effects. ABILIFY may affect the way other medicines work, and other medicines may affect how ABILIFY works.

Your healthcare provider can tell you if it is safe to take ABILIFY with your other medicines. Do not start or stop any medicines while taking ABILIFY without talking to your healthcare provider first. Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines to show your healthcare provider and pharmacist when you get a new medicine.

How should I take ABILIFY?

- Take ABILIFY exactly as your healthcare provider tells you to take it. Do not change the dose or stop taking ABILIFY yourself.
- ABILIFY can be taken with or without food.
- ABILIFY tablets should be swallowed whole.
- If you miss a dose of ABILIFY, take the missed dose as soon as you remember. If it is almost time for the next dose, just skip the missed dose and take your next dose at the regular time. Do not take two doses of ABILIFY at the same time.
- If you take too much ABILIFY, call your healthcare provider or poison control center at 1-800-222-1222 right away, or go to the nearest hospital emergency room.

What should I avoid while taking ABILIFY?

- Do not drive, operate heavy machinery, or do other dangerous activities until you know how ABILIFY affects you. ABILIFY may make you drowsy.
- Do not drink alcohol while taking ABILIFY.
- Avoid getting over-heated or dehydrated.
- Do not over-exercise.
- In hot weather, stay inside in a cool place if possible.
- Stay out of the sun. Do not wear too much or heavy clothing.
- Drink plenty of water.

What are the possible side effects of ABILIFY?

Serious side effects have been reported with ABILIFY including:

- Neuroleptic malignant syndrome (NMS): Tell your healthcare provider right away if you have some or all of the following symptoms: high fever, stiff muscles, confusion, sweating, changes in pulse, heart rate, and blood pressure.

These may be symptoms of a rare and serious condition that can lead to death. Call your healthcare provider right away if you have any of these symptoms.

- High blood sugar (hyperglycemia):** Increases in blood sugar can happen in some people who take ABILIFY (aripiprazole). Extremely high blood sugar can lead to coma or death. If you have diabetes or risk factors for diabetes (such as being overweight or a family history of diabetes), your healthcare provider should check your blood sugar before you start ABILIFY and during therapy.

Call your healthcare provider if you have any of these symptoms of high blood sugar while taking ABILIFY:

- feel very thirsty, need to urinate more than usual, feel very hungry, feel weak or tired, feel sick to your stomach, feel confused, or your breath smells fruity.
- Increase in weight:** Weight gain has been reported in patients taking medicines like ABILIFY, so you and your healthcare provider should check your weight regularly. For children and adolescents (patients 6 to 17 years of age) weight gain should be compared against that expected with normal growth.
- Difficulty swallowing:** may lead to aspiration and choking.
- Tardive dyskinesia:** Call your healthcare provider about any movements you cannot control in your face, tongue, or other body parts. These may be signs of a serious condition. Tardive dyskinesia may not go away, even if you stop taking ABILIFY. Tardive dyskinesia may also start after you stop taking ABILIFY.
- Orthostatic hypotension (decreased blood pressure):** lightheadedness or fainting when rising too quickly from a sitting or lying position.
- Low white blood cell count**
- Seizures (convulsions)**

Common side effects with ABILIFY in adults include nausea, inner sense of restlessness/need to move (akathisia), vomiting, anxiety, constipation, insomnia, headache, restlessness, dizziness.

These are not all the possible side effects of ABILIFY. For more information, ask your healthcare provider or pharmacist. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

General information about ABILIFY

Store ABILIFY at room temperature, between 59°F to 86°F. Opened bottles of ABILIFY Oral Solution can be used for up to 6 months after opening, but not beyond the expiration date on the bottle. Keep ABILIFY and all medicines out of the reach of children.

- Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Medication Guide. Do not use ABILIFY for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give ABILIFY to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them.
- This summary contains the most important information about ABILIFY. If you would like more information, talk with your healthcare provider. For more information about ABILIFY visit www.abilify.com.

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Economy



Hot Off the Runway. Why turboprops are making a comeback

By Bill Saporito

IN 2002, COMAIR, DELTA's regional subsidiary, could proudly claim to be the first all-jet commuter airline. Its 50-seat Embraer and Bombardier regional planes freed us from turboprops, like the Short 360 and Saab 340—flying migraine machines with the comfort of the backseat of a VW Beetle. But in 2012, Comair announced its demise because those jets are too costly to operate profitably. And now a new generation of turboprops is making a comeback—and offering a vastly improved travel experience.

Avions de Transport Regional (ATR), a European maker of commuter turboprops, has enough orders for its 50- to 74-seat ATR 72-600 to keep its assembly lines cranking for three years. At Canada's Bombardier, orders are picking up again for its 70- to 80-seat Q400 turbo. The buyers are after the same advantage. Turbos are ideal for short cycle routes—flights of 300 miles (480 km) or less—and are as much as 50%

more fuel efficient and about as fast as regional jets over that distance. "It's the natural hedge on fuel when you apply the right airplane technology to do the right missions," says Mark Neely, ATR's head of sales in North America. The planes are getting more comfortable too: they're sleeker, quieter and more spacious than their predecessors. (See sidebar.)

There is politics in play as well. For years, major airlines subcontracted short and medium-haul flights to their commuter carriers to avoid paying their own pilots' higher wages, but so-called scope clauses limited commuter carriers to 50-seat stalwarts like Bombardier's CRJ and Embraer's ERJ. Now that carrier economies have changed (see: the American Airlines bankruptcy and a general push to fly bigger planes at fuller capacities), industry consultancies like AirInsight expect a shift to larger turbos within five years.

Meanwhile, aircraft mak-

ers estimate that demand for turboprops will reach 2,500 to 3,000 planes over the next 20 years as airlines in developing countries expand their networks and those in Western nations restructure money-losing fleets and routes. Already, turbos have claimed 85% of the orders in the 50- to 90-seat segment. (That's good news for engine maker Pratt & Whitney.) The ATR 72-600, for example, is turning up in the U.S. (via GECAS, GE's leasing arm), Australia (for Virgin Australia) and all over Asia. And the Q400 just claimed a big order from Canada's Westjet. The turboprop forecast is so encouraging that ATR and Bombardier are considering new turbos that could carry 90 to 110 passengers—about the capacity of a Lockheed Super Constellation, the 1950s-era turboprop that made flying TWA glamorous. The new turbos won't restore the glamour. But with their quieter engines and roomier cabins, they will spare you the aspirin. ■

How Turboprops Have Evolved



QUIETER FLIGHTS

ATRs and Q400s use active and passive technologies to dampen vibration and noise



BIGGER CABINS

The ATR's cabin is wider than that of any regional jet and has more overhead storage



GREENER AND CHEAPER

Because they're lighter than regional jets, turboprops guzzle up to 50% less fuel on short-haul trips



MORE DESTINATIONS

Turboprops can land on shorter runways and rough terrain, so they reach more places than, say, a 737

Health&Science

Flavor Blast. How the drought is changing the taste of your produce

By Alexandra Sifferlin

SCORCHING TEMPERATURES AND TOO FEW rain showers are baking America's heartland. And while no farmer would ever wish for those conditions, this year's drought has at least one perk: growers of everything from beets to watermelon are reporting that flavors have intensified, since hot weather hastens maturity and builds higher levels of sugars and other key compounds. "Everyone is after the perfect peach," says Theresa High, owner and manager of High Country Orchards in Palisade, Colo. "And I think they found it this year."

On a local level, farmers can tout their flavorful produce to increase consumer

demand. "It can be a good surprise," says Irwin Goldman, horticulture professor at the University of Wisconsin in Madison. At a farm in Colorado, for example, Michael Bartolo is growing some of his sweetest cantaloupes ever. "A lot of people at the markets have liked them," says the crop specialist at Colorado State University.

Of course, better flavors alone won't recoup losses from the drought, which could cost taxpayers \$10.7 billion in bailouts. But they're certainly sparking foodie enthusiasm. "If there's a bright side to the world's weather conditions," says High, "this is it."



SPACE

\$2.5 BILLION

Cost of the Mars rover *Curiosity*, which is scheduled to land on Aug. 5. Its toolbox includes a rock-zapping laser, an organic-chemistry lab and a jackhammer



HEALTH CARE

Doctor Shortage?

The Affordable Care Act will bring health insurance to some 32 million Americans by 2015. But according to the Association of American Medical Colleges (AAMC), the U.S. will be short nearly 63,000 doctors by then, and that number's only going to get higher. The reason: while demand for primary-care physicians is growing—thanks to the health care law expanding the number of people covered and aging baby boomers requiring more care—government funding of residency training has been frozen since 1996. Meanwhile, interest in becoming a primary-care physician has plummeted; the field's grueling hours and relatively low pay have given it a "second-class status," says Glen Stream, president of the American Academy of Family Physicians (AAFP).

Both problems, however, are fixable. The AAMC is lobbying Congress to fund more medical-residency-training programs. And the AAFP hopes that by advocating a model that pays physicians for keeping patients healthy—as opposed to performing costly services—it can lure students back from more lucrative fields like plastic surgery and dermatology. That would "improve satisfaction... and in the long run, actually save money," says Stream. —PATIENCE HAGGIN

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Appreciation



Gore Vidal. The kind, contentious man of letters

By Gay Talese

Once I performed in a play with Gore Vidal. It was a one-night performance of *Don Juan in Hell*, which Norman Mailer directed. Vidal played the Devil, and I played Don Juan, and Susan Sontag played Doña Ana. So much is made of Vidal's acerbic nature, his competitiveness, his nastiness and his ambitions to be a political figure as well as a literary man, which he certainly was in many, many ways. But on a one-on-one basis, he was a very charming and approachable and generous person. He was the most professional of the four of us—more of a professional than Mailer and certainly more than Sontag and me—but he was very patient with us.

I believe because of when he was born and because of the family into which he was born—a prominent family, his grandfather in the Senate, a father at West Point—and because he was gay at a time when it was not easy to acknowledge that, he wasn't able to be free. This posturing, the acerbic nature, the rigid competitiveness and the seeming hostility toward people he felt threatened by—this brought



Vidal, who died July 31 at age 86, appeared on TIME's cover in March 1976 for his novel 1876

out in his nature in public what was really not fundamentally true about Vidal in private. If we were born 20 years later, he would have been a much different person in public. He would have been no less skilled a writer. He was so talented as a novelist and essayist. He was undoubtedly a man of letters in the most sterling sense of the word. However, I do believe his reputation, such as it was, on television—argumentative and supercilious and sometimes downright nasty—I think it had to do with the fact that he couldn't be relaxed in public as he would have been with small groups of people.

It wasn't that he was born into a world in which he had to become prominent. He was prominent by birth. He wasn't like the struggling little guy who has to write his way to fame, like James Baldwin. Or Mailer, who was a man of the working middle class. He liked attention, of course. But to be in a position where because of what you know you are in private and because of the public stature that your parents represent—I think it prompted him to have to have a kind of wall within which to defend himself. He had a family of stature, and he was born with a sense of responsibility to not embarrass or to bring discredit upon this very creditable heritage that he was part of.

When I had a terrible review when my book *Thy Neighbor's Wife* came out—this was back in 1980—I remember how solicitous he was. I remember how kind he was. That was Gore Vidal the man, as opposed to just the literary man.

—As told to Nate Ravulings

Talese, a longtime writer for Esquire magazine, is the author of eight books

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Rana Foroohar



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To Ease or Not to Ease

It's not really the question. The Fed should go beyond bond buying to goose growth

INVESTORS PARSE FEDERAL RESERVE meeting notes the way believers in Kabbalah parse ancient texts. If Ben Bernanke says *might* rather than *may* regarding a particular policy action, markets react. The import of his words, perceived and real, has grown in tandem with political dysfunction in Washington, since Bernanke—along with his Continental counterpart Mario Draghi, head of the European Central Bank—are the last men standing between the West and economic stagnation. Politicians can't or won't act to stimulate the economy. Only central bankers can save us.

But can they really? Does the Fed actually have any more useful tools in its kit to spur U.S. economic growth, which was a truly lethargic 1.5% in this past quarter? The answer is yes, but the tools aren't the ones that were talked about at the most recent Fed meeting. Bernanke indicated then that the bank was willing to continue pushing interest rates down into 2014 but fell short of announcing another round of quantitative easing, in which the Fed buys large sums of Treasury bills from banks in an effort to increase the money supply, boost bank lending and jolt the economy into action.

Bernanke's stutter step is good, because the past couple of rounds of Fed bond buying have been much less effective than the first. Once markets adjusted to the shock and awe of the first round, they started pricing in the effects. In all cases, much of the benefit went to the wealthy, anyway; stocks got a jolt, especially the first time around. But the mortgage market was less affected, and that's what matters for a middle class whose wealth is still tied up in housing.

This speaks to the conundrum facing the Fed. In the absence of real fiscal

stimulus by government, central bankers are left to try to stimulate the economy on their own. But their traditional tools for doing so—low rates and bond buying—are either no longer effective or not applicable to today's problems. (In the U.S., quantitative easing was developed to deal with economic problems at home, not the headwinds currently emanating from Europe.) In order to keep things afloat until politicians get their act together, the Fed



needs new strategies. They exist but come with risks. Bernanke and Co. could, for example, decide to stop paying the small amount of interest it pays to banks that park cash with the Fed, thereby pushing those funds into interest-yielding money-market accounts. But there are already well-founded worries that money-market funds are susceptible to bank runs—and unlike commercial accounts, they aren't federally insured. That's a \$2.6 trillion disaster waiting to happen.

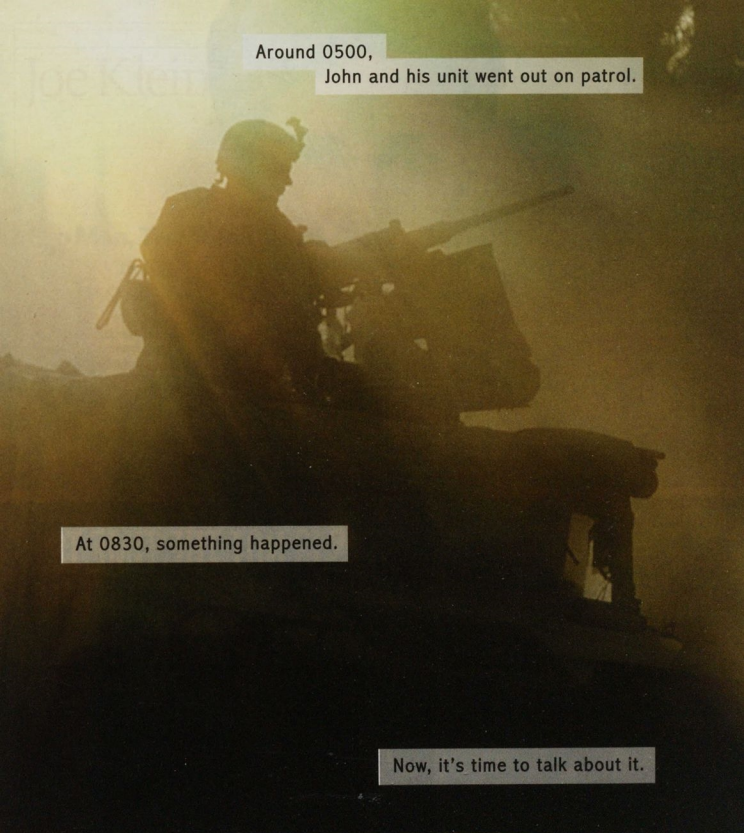
A more useful approach would be to target the mortgage market directly, since boosting the housing market would boost the economy at large. New-home

construction is a jobs generator, and we sure could use them.

The problem is that while the Fed has pushed interest rates to record lows, it can't force banks to lend that cheap money. "Everyone who can refinance their home already has," says Paul Dales, senior U.S. economist for Capital Economics. "But there's evidence that a lot of people still want to and simply can't get financing." Data show that demand for prime mortgages rose strongly in the second quarter of 2012, but lending standards were tightened, creating a bottleneck. Banks are reluctant to lend not only because of credit risk but also because they worry about the global economy and are unsure of everything from what tax rates will be to how Congress will handle the fiscal cliff.

The Fed can avoid gridlock. It can (and very likely will) buy mortgage-backed securities, but that doesn't address the fundamental lending question. That's why some economists are pushing for the U.S. to institute a funding-for-lending scheme along the lines of what's being done in the U.K. Banks would be able to borrow money from the Fed and make a small profit on it but only if they lent that money to consumers. Such a plan would be outside traditional Fed policy, but as Mohamed El-Erian, CEO of Pimco, the world's largest bond trader, puts it, "More of the same isn't going to work. The Fed has to do something different."

These loans would of course boost the Fed's balance sheet and thus open it to new charges that it's stoking inflation. But frankly, the inflation argument holds less and less water. With the savings rate up nearly a point in the past year and unemployment still above 8%, the megaworry isn't 1970s-style inflation but a lost decade à la Japan. Indeed, Fed rune readers are parsing hints that Bernanke may finally be willing to stop fighting the last war and let inflation rise a bit in order to stoke growth. That would be a welcome sign. ■



Around 0500,

John and his unit went out on patrol.

At 0830, something happened.

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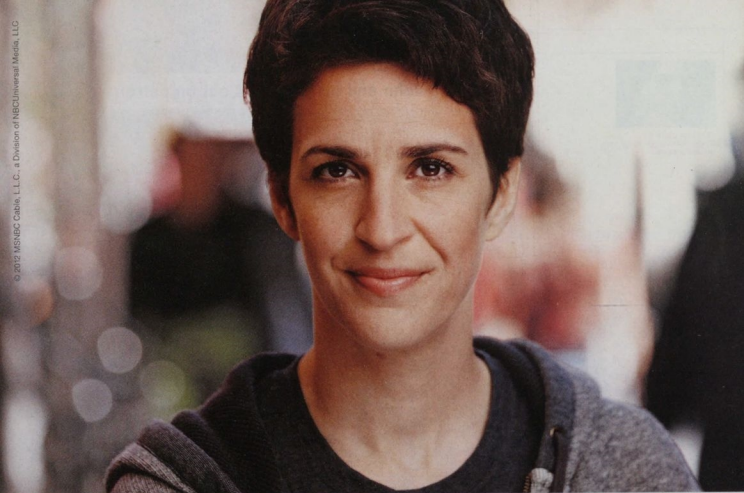
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**"THIS IS NOT THE TIME TO
GIVE UP ON WASHINGTON.
NOW IS THE TIME TO PROVE
THAT OUR POLITICAL
PROCESSES WORK."**

-Rachel Maddow

LEAN FORWARD

RACHEL MADDOW, msnbc host

 **msnbc**

Joe Klein



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Two Men, Two Weak Spots

Romney is hard to pin down. Obama can be arrogant. A fall campaign primer

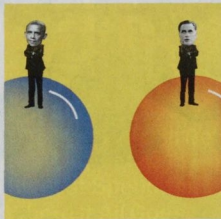
AS JULY SLIPPED INTO AUGUST AND Mitt Romney returned from a clunky, undiplomatic trip overseas, the Romney campaign unleashed a barrage of ads targeting Ohio—a drop-dead crucial swing state where President Obama is surprisingly buoyant, largely because of the perceived success of the auto bailout. The ads provide a glimpse at the main economic argument Romney hopes to make in the fall campaign, although Ohio is a particularly challenging place to test that message. Ohioans are feeling pretty good about their economy these days. Their unemployment rate, 7.2%, is below the national average.

One of the ads, called "Time for a Change," presents the case in its most basic form: 41 months of unemployment above 8%, 473,000 jobs lost, median household income down \$4,300. You can quibble with the details. The job losses came early in the Obama Administration and were caused by events that occurred before he arrived—the housing bubble, the Wall Street crash. But this is Romney's best argument: "Obama isn't working."

Two other ads feature Ohio businessmen, and they are rather curious. There is an auto salesman named Al Zarzour, whose dealership was one of more than a thousand that were tagged for closure when General Motors reorganized itself after the bailout. It's a sad story, but a brazen one for Romney to tell, given his history of creative destruction. Essentially, he's criticizing the Obama Administration for the very practices that defined his successful career as a businessman. And he's swimming upstream: Ohio's Republican governor, John Kasich, recently told me that the bailout didn't create many new jobs in Ohio, but it saved a ton of them—not just in autos and auto

parts but in ancillary industries like steel, plastics and consumer goods. Most people in Ohio seem to understand this. I suspect Romney won't have much luck changing their minds.

The third ad, and the most effective, stars Dennis Sollmann, who owns an electrical-construction company. It begins with some embarrassing, if heavily edited, sound bites from Obama's famous "You didn't build that" speech. "If you've been successful, you didn't get there on



your own," the President says, adding that he's "struck" by successful people who say "It must be because I was just so smart. There are a lot of smart people out there. It must be because I worked harder." And then, after some editing, "If you've got a business, you didn't build that." Enter Sollmann, with a chuckle: "I mean, I'm thinking, You've got to be kidding me. He was trying to say, 'Hey, you didn't build that business on your own. The government helped you build it.' And that's what ticked me off more than anything."

It is now well known that the "you didn't build that" part of the quote was taken out of context. Obama was talking

about infrastructure: "Somebody helped to create this unbelievable American system that we have that allowed you to thrive. Somebody invested in roads and bridges. If you've got a business—you didn't build that. Somebody else made that happen." In Sollmann's case, the observation is entirely apt: his business has been bolstered with the help of local government contracts. But Obama's earlier words are a real problem. Most small-business people succeed because they are smarter than their competitors, because they really do work harder. The President seems to dismiss these defining American traits, which is incredibly foolish, an arrogant echo of his "You're likable enough" swipe at Hillary Clinton in a 2008 debate.

We'll be hearing plenty about the President's arrogance, and Romney's elusiveness, in the next few months. But the Sollmann ad points us toward the intellectual heart of the coming campaign: What's the proper balance between the public and private sectors? Both candidates seem to overstate their case. The President is too much a meritocrat to believe that entrepreneurial intelligence and hard work aren't crucial. And Romney can't seriously argue that government doesn't have a major role in a modern economy. There's a well-known passage in *The Wealth of Nations* where Adam Smith lays out the duties of "the sovereign," which include building roads and canals—and charging tolls to pay for them. The fact is, Obama's alleged public excesses are much the same as Romney's when he was governor of Massachusetts. Their health care plans are identical. Both took a stab at industrial policy, providing public support for promising companies—which sometimes failed. Romney has said government stimulus was necessary in 2009, although he would have done it differently from Obama.

The missing piece is what each would do going forward. You can't have a substantive debate without substance, and this has been the most rapid, vapid, campaign of the 10 presidential races I've covered. ■



Why Money Matters

(More than ever before)

Karl Rove's Return By Michael Crowley *p. 36*

How Democrats Fell Behind

By Michael Scherer *p. 42*

The Biggest Spenders *pp. 39, 45*

Where It All Goes *p. 41*

Return of The Architect

Karl Rove limped away from White House. Now he's leading the GOP fight to win it back

By Michael Crowley

ON MAY 31, KARL ROVE RETURNED TO THE White House for the first time since Barack Obama's Inauguration. Bush's Brain, as Rove was known during the nearly seven years he worked there, joined a group of former colleagues for an East Room ceremony to unveil George W. Bush's official portrait.

Rove was behind enemy lines. Two years ago he founded American Crossroads, a super PAC that has already spent some \$75 million running ads against Obama and the Democrats, with more than twice that amount yet to come. Defeating his host that day has long been the organizing purpose of Rove's new professional life.

After some light remarks by Bush and Obama, Rove joined a receiving line to greet the two Presidents. Rove had met Obama before, back when the President was a Senator, but the two had not encountered each other since the 2008 election. "You're working to get my picture hung prematurely," Obama said to Rove, cordial but not smiling.

"Doing everything I can, Mr. President," Rove replied. "*Everything I can.*"

In that moment, Obama came face to face with a foe second only perhaps to Mitt Romney. Democrats may have thought they were rid of Rove when he limped away from an embattled Bush White House five years ago. But the man Bush dubbed the Architect is back, running a conservative money machine that could swamp Democrats this fall and, Rove hopes, re-establish the Republican dominance that slipped through his fingers in the late Bush era. "The Architect," says former Bush adviser Mark McKinnon, "is still creating blueprints for the future of the GOP."

The 2012 elections will easily be the most expensive in U.S. history. The cost of the race for the White House alone could be \$2.5 billion. The battles for House and Senate seats and other statewide offices will run \$1 billion more. And with fewer than 100 days until Election Day, that money is only now starting to gush forth in the form of ads—most of them negative and often misleading—on TV screens across America. We may live in an iPhone world, but political campaigns



are still fought on Panasonic battlefields in the form of hugely expensive television advertising campaigns.

There are various reasons for the growing cost of campaigns—inflation, the way political operatives have refined fundraising to a kind of science powered by micro-targeted appeals and digital solicitations that make giving as easy as a mouse click. A bigger one is the Supreme Court's January 2010 *Citizens United* ruling, which gave unions, corporations and individuals more freedom to pump money into elections.

Well before the *Citizens United* decision, big money flowed through the back doors of the political system—including when liberal billionaires like George Soros funded a massive ad campaign against Bush in 2004. But many wealthy donors had reservations about such efforts, fretting that campaign law was too murky to protect them from legal jeopardy. For instance, before *Citizens United*, political groups could register as nonprofit "social welfare" organizations, running issue-oriented advertising (usually thinly veiled political attacks), so long as they didn't explicitly urge voting for or against specific candidates. That was too cute a distinction for some donors, especially as watchdog groups mounted legal challenges. *Citizens United* expanded and clarified the law, making clear that nonprofit political groups are free to bash candidates as they please, while loosening donor-disclosure requirements. The overall thrust of the court's 5-4 ruling was to affirm that political money is free speech that should be lightly regulated. And that seems to have reassured enough wealthy conservatives—already burning with frustration with Obama—to throw open their wallets like never before. (Little evidence exists thus far that corporations are rushing into the fray.)

As you might expect, the result has not been a flurry of uplifting ads calling to our better angels. In fact, the 2012 campaign is shaping up to be the most negative on record. A May study by the Wesleyan Media Project found that negative ads were already above 2008's level—and that was before midsummer brought a barrage of attacks from the Obama campaign on Romney's Bain Capital record and a conservative fusillade against Obama's economic record. And no one is more responsible for this massive money machine than Karl Christian Rove.

The Flavors of His Life

"I'M HAVING AN ENORMOUS AMOUNT OF fun," Rove says, sitting in his small office near Washington's Dupont Circle. It's a sparsely furnished space, with a roller suitcase in the corner signifying a man on the go. These days, Rove splits his time among Washington, Austin and the road. (Last year it was 110 days in Texas, 77 in Washington "and the rest on the road," he says.) Over his desk are busts of Abraham Lincoln, Teddy Roosevelt and Bach. Nearby is a scale model of Air Force One. Down the hall, Rove has a small staff that includes his chief of staff, Sheena Tahilramani, plus a full-time researcher affectionately known as Data Girl. ("It's capitalized, like a superhero's name," Rove says.) Data Girl feeds Rove's appetite for raw information, which is superinsatiable. Midway through a riff about how Crossroads was forcing Obama to respond to its advertising in swing states and thus draining the President's funds, Rove interrupted himself and jumped up. "Let's take a quick second, and I'll show you," he said, stepping to his desktop computer and clicking open a spreadsheet showing spending for every major group aligned with what Rove calls "Team Obama" (the Democrats) and "the good guys" (the Republicans).

His hair may be a tad thinner and grayer, but the face is still boyish, and the voice still booms. This is the old Karl: whimsical, funny, a tad manic, relishing the fight. Life is the best it's been since Bush's re-election, when Bush notched his hard-fought win despite the headwinds of the Iraq war and conservatives hailed Rove as an undisputed political genius.

Then everything went to hell. Iraq and Katrina crushed Bush's poll numbers, Republicans lost the Congress, and Rove became a focus of federal prosecutor Patrick Fitzgerald's investigation into the

leak of CIA officer Valerie Plame's identity. Multiple grand jury appearances and the prospect of an indictment sapped his morale while producing six-figure legal bills. Masked protesters appeared outside his house. The evening he learned he wouldn't be indicted, Rove sobbed at his White House desk. A celebration cake from his neighbors, he later recalled, "tasted like ashes. Everything had lost its flavor." His marriage, too, was failing.

As the Republicans collapsed in the late Bush years, even former allies revised their opinions of Rove. In August 2007 the conservative columnist Robert Novak reported that Rove had come to be seen as "part of the problem" afflicting his party. Democrats taunted their former tormentor. One 2008 Obama campaign spokesman likened political advice from Rove to "health tips from a funeral-home director." When Obama thumped John McCain in 2008—an election Rove publicly sat out—many conservatives blamed the Bush-Rove legacy. Rove prefers not to dwell on the past but states the obvious. "Losing is never fun," he says.

Today, life has regained its flavor. Rove, 61, earns as much as \$40,000 per appearance on the speaking circuit and is paid handsomely for his opinions by Fox News and the *Wall Street Journal*. This summer he got married for the third time, to Karen Johnson, a transportation lobbyist from Austin. They flew to southern Italy for their honeymoon on a jet belonging to billionaire Las Vegas casino mogul Steve Wynn, a 2008 Obama supporter who recently donated millions to Crossroads and other conservative groups.

Some things are the same. At public events, hecklers call him a murderer and a war criminal. Strangers are still a crash-course. When he recently introduced himself to a neighbor who was walking his dog, the man snapped, "I know who you are. You ruined our country!"

"I'm not a human being," Rove says in wonderment. "I'm a myth."

Rove at the Crossroads

HE SEEMS SOMETHING LESS THAN DAZZLED by Romney. After the GOP candidate caused a stir with his musing in London that Britain may have been unprepared for the Olympics, Rove said on Fox News that "you have to shake your head." When Romney recently demanded that Obama

This is the old Karl: funny, a tad manic, relishing the fight

apologize for questioning his record at Bain Capital, Rove pronounced him "whiny." Still, Rove believes Obama has a "record of failure" that leaves him vulnerable, especially if turnout dips among young voters and minorities. "It's going to be very close," he says.

And in a very close race, money could be decisive. Rove believes a lack of cash helped doom McCain in 2008, when he was hugely outspent by Obama and outside Republican groups did little to help. After Obama was sworn in, Rove started talking with his friend and fellow GOP operative Ed Gillespie about how to better harness cash for elections. The men understood that the traditional power of the parties had been undermined by the 2002 McCain-Feingold campaign finance reform law, which barred party committees from raising unlimited soft-money donations. But the confusing, even nonsensical particulars of election law still allowed independent groups to raise and spend freely.

The result was American Crossroads, a super PAC that can expressly advocate for or against candidates if it discloses its donors every few months. But Rove understood that some wealthy donors prefer not to be known at all. That's why he created a nonprofit arm of his group called Crossroads GPS, which can keep its donors secret as long as it engages mostly in issue advocacy—which in reality can look like the \$20 million negative ad campaign GPS ran last summer hammering Obama over the national debt.

More recently, American Crossroads has stepped up with a more explicit assault against Obama. "What happened to Barack Obama?" asks the concerned female narrator in one ad launched in mid-July. "The press and even Democrats say his attacks on Mitt Romney's business record are misleading, unfair and untrue." The President has gone negative, she says, because of his failures on the economy and the deficit: "Obama can't run on that record." That ad was part of a \$9.3 million campaign in six swing states, including the big three of Florida, Ohio and Virginia.

More recently, Crossroads launched another ad supporting Romney. This one features small-business owners marveling at Obama's statement that "if you've got a business, you didn't build that." Never mind that the ad distorts Obama's

The Big Givers To Republicans



Sheldon and Miriam Adelson
\$35,313,400

Sheldon, CEO of the Las Vegas Sands hotels and casinos, is a former booster of Newt Gingrich



Harold and Annette Simmons
\$15,828,300

A Texas couple with chemical, metal and waste-management interests, among others



Bob and Doyleene Perry
\$12,326,400

Bob founded Perry Homes, one of the largest homebuilding companies in Texas



Steve Wynn
As much as \$10,000,000 (est.)

Head of Wynn Resorts and a leading developer of the Las Vegas strip



John and Marlene Childs
\$2,790,700

John heads a private-equity firm that has invested in everything from health care to Meow Mix

point—that government supports the private sector with things like roads and bridges. (Crossroads ads are regularly deemed things like "exaggerated," "misleading" and "false" by media fact checkers.) Or that at least one of those small-business owners was revealed to be a paid actor. It still served as crucial backup for the Romney campaign, whose ability to advertise this summer is restricted. That's because election law divides a candidate's campaign cash into primary and general-election dollars. Romney burned through most of his primary cash fending off his GOP rivals this winter. But he can't spend his vast reserve of general-election money until he's officially nominated in Tampa later this month. Steve Law, who is the CEO of Crossroads and manages the group day to day, calls this period "the interregnum" and says Crossroads' support has been a vital buffer against Obama's summer advertising blitz. "We've helped Romney survive what was going to be a killing field for the Obama campaign," Law says.

By Election Day, Law says, Crossroads hopes to have spent about \$200 million just on the race for the White House—about as much as McCain raised in the entire 2008 campaign. That doesn't include the additional \$100 million Crossroads intends to spend on the fight for Congress, especially the Republican effort to wrest control of the Senate from the Democrats. Crossroads ads have battered Democratic candidates like Nebraska's Bob Kerrey ("Bailout Bob"), Ohio's Sherrod Brown ("voted with Barack Obama 95% of the time") and Missouri's Claire McCaskill ("ObamaClaire"), putting Republicans in position to control not only the White House but also both chambers of Congress for the first time since 2005.

Crossroads also serves as a kind of mother ship for a fleet of well-financed Republican groups, each with a distinct mission but all working in concert. It's illegal for a federal candidate or party committee to coordinate with an outside group, but the groups can work with one another. Thus, the Crossroads offices host regular meetings of people from up to 20 conservative groups who gather in the glass-enclosed conference room to discuss the Electoral map, share polling and voter data and divide up their respective efforts. The groups have included Grover

Sources: Center for Responsive Politics; Politico

Norquist's Americans for Tax Reform, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce (which will spend some \$50 million) and Americans for Prosperity, a nonprofit group founded by the libertarian mogul brothers David and Charles Koch. All told, these organizations could spend \$1 billion supporting GOP candidates in 2012.

Collectively, the operatives are known informally as the Weaver Terrace Group, after the Washington, D.C., street where they first gathered, in the home of Karl Rove. "This is not some faction of the party or issue cluster," Norquist says. "It is the equivalent of the Republican National Committee, with more agility and less overhead."

Crossroads can't work with the Romney team, but the familial ties between them are extensive. Crossroads' political director is Carl Forti, who had the same title in Romney's 2008 campaign and who helped create Restore Our Future, a pro-Romney super PAC that spent \$50 million in the primaries and may spend an additional \$100 million by November. Gillespie, who helped Rove create Crossroads, now has an office at Romney's campaign headquarters in Boston. And when Romney held a June retreat for his top fundraisers in Park City, Utah, Rove attended the event—an action even one Republican involved in super-PAC work calls uncomfortably close to the legal line. "It was shocking to me that he went," he says.

Not everyone sees Crossroads as a fearsome political Death Star. Democrats point out that the group has spent tens of millions of dollars bashing Obama, with little clear effect on his poll numbers. Even some Romney supporters grumble about the quality and impact of Crossroads' advertisements. Law counters that opinions about any incumbent are hard to shift dramatically, but he says a Crossroads advertising assault during last year's debt-limit battle undermined Obama's image as a strong leader. And while Law concedes that Crossroads has not yet fundamentally reshaped any major Senate race, he says Crossroads has forced Democrats into new spending just to hold their ground.

Obama's campaign has so far outspent Romney's. But the combined firepower of the Weaver Terrace network has given Rove's "good guys" an overall cash advantage.

The Hole-in-the-Wall Gang

ROVE IS BEST KNOWN AS A STRATEGIST, but he has recently become a deft fundraiser as well. Law recalls one meeting at a West Coast restaurant early last year at which a donor told Rove he was happy to fund efforts to win back the Senate but didn't want to waste money taking on a President who, at that time, was polling well. At that, Rove sprang into data mode, scribbling a flurry of numbers on the table's white paper covering, including the poll numbers of past Presidents at an equivalent point in their first term, to show that Obama was eminently beatable. When he finished, Rove tore off the section of the paper bearing his handiwork and handed it to the duly impressed donor.

Many of the big contributors funding Rove's new political network are Texans he's known for decades—including the Houston homebuilder Bob Perry, a major Swift Boat Veterans for Truth backer, and the Dallas metals-and-chemicals executive Harold Simmons, who calls Obama a socialist. Together, Perry and Simmons have given more than \$15 million to American Crossroads.

Rove wins over donors in part by pitching Crossroads as a professionalized contrast to fly-by-night political groups notorious for overhead costs and fee-skimming consultants. (Rove takes no Crossroads salary and pays his own expenses, as is the case with former Mississippi governor and GOP rainmaker Haley Barbour, another Crossroads adviser-fundraiser.) "It used to be that at the end of the day, a donor would get a return of 60 to 70 cents on the dollar," says Crossroads spokesman Jonathan Collegio, adding that the group's fundraising and overhead run about 1% to 2% respectively. "It's not driven up by fancy offices and leather furniture." Collegio points to a wall where wires still hang loose from a spot where a TV had once been mounted. "I mean, look—that hole's been in the wall since I started."

Thinking Big and Small

AFTER SITTING FOR AN INTERVIEW IN HIS office, Rove needs to dash to Capitol Hill to meet with some Republican members of Congress. ("Don't ask me what it's about," he says with a grin.) He hops into a taxi, and before long, he's opining about the election. Grand ideology isn't his style, and he is soon arguing

that it is likely to hinge on relatively minor fluctuations among demographic groups like college-educated women, white working-class voters and African Americans. He cites from memory Obama's winning vote margin in North Carolina four years ago (14,000) and notes that for the President, "if African-American turnout dips even a small amount, you're gone." But Rove also likes to think big. A reading list on his website features titles about Socrates, Cleopatra and—of course—Machiavelli. He likes classics too. "Best to read this to yourself out loud," he says of *Paradise Lost*. "That way, you get Milton's rhythm and meaning better."

He is above all a U.S.-history buff who still envisions a "durable Republican majority." (Rove insists he never used the "permanent majority" line so often attributed to him. "Nothing is permanent in politics," he says.) But that can happen, he says, only if the party broadens its appeal. Liberals may see him as a right winger. But Rove has been dismissive of Tea Party-backed ideologues like Christine O'Donnell, Herman Cain and Sarah Palin. His political vision is relatively moderate. "Political parties do not succeed if they become smaller and more select," he said in a recent speech. "They become successful if they become broader and bigger. And that means tolerating some people who don't necessarily agree with us on every opinion." In particular, he worries that the GOP risks permanent minority status if it alienates the U.S.'s fast-growing Hispanic population. "We cannot allow to happen with Hispanics what happened with the African-American vote," he said. Rove says a group of Republican politicians and donors has been working to identify promising young Hispanic political talent.

For the next few months, however, his thinking will be more tactical: how to raise more money, how to guide Crossroads and its allied groups across the Electoral-map chessboard. How to do everything he can to defeat Obama.

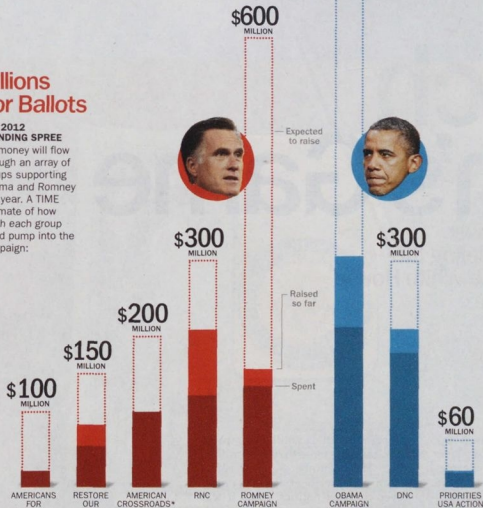
But Rove is also playing for even bigger stakes. If he succeeds in November, he will have restored not just his party's power but also his own. Rove intends for Crossroads to carry on past November, keeping up the fight in 2014 and beyond. And if it does, the Architect will have become the de facto and undisputed boss of his party. And he will get another chance to achieve his lasting Republican majority in America. ■

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Billions For Ballots

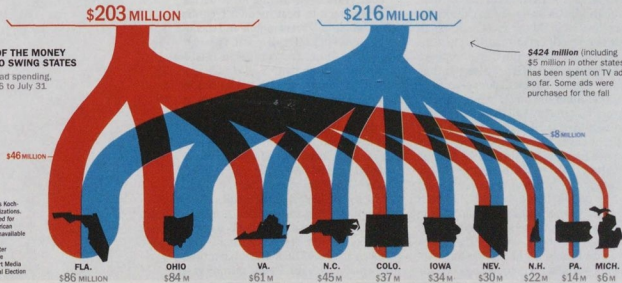
THE 2012 SPENDING SPREE

Big money will flow through an array of groups supporting Obama and Romney this year. A TIME estimate of how much each group could pump into the campaign:



MOST OF THE MONEY GOES TO SWING STATES

Total TV ad spending, March 26 to July 31.

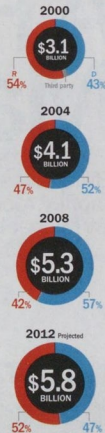


*AFP includes Koch-related organizations. Amounts raised for AFP and American Crossroads unavailable

Sources: Center for Responsive Politics; Smart Media Group; Federal Election Commission

FEDERAL ELECTION SPENDING

Includes campaigns, parties and outside groups for presidential and congressional races



\$424 million (including \$5 million in other states) has been spent on TV ads so far. Some ads were purchased for the fall

A Rich Man's Game

Forget people power. Billionaires are fueling the money race to the White House

By Michael Scherer

OBAMA CAMPAIGN MANAGER JIM MESSINA could have put the staff Ping-Pong table anywhere, but he chose a piece of carpet right outside his office at the Chicago headquarters. "It's part of what I learned when I did my tour of all the tech companies," he says, referring to a trip he took through Silicon Valley in early 2007 to learn how to build the most technologically savvy political campaign in history. "You have got to have fun things for them to do. Because they will stay longer. They will be happier. They will do cool stuff."

Never mind the constant bip-bop, bip-bop of the bouncing ball that can be heard through Messina's walls. "I don't even notice it anymore," he says. That's either because he likes to think of the Obama operation as a sort of Facebook or Google of campaigns or because he has bigger worries on his plate. In politics, high tech is basically synonymous with mobilizing huge numbers of people, which is one of the things the Obama campaign believes it does well. In 2008, digital devices and websites allowed Obama to convene 35,000 vol-

unteer groups, attract 3 million campaign donors and raise more than \$500 million online. Those numbers—never before seen in any presidential campaign—forever changed politics, or so it was thought at the time.

Four years later, Obama for America 2.0 is on track to beat its own records, with a whole new set of mobile and social-networking tricks at its disposal. Through the end of June, the campaign raised \$112 million from donors who gave less than \$200, compared with \$93.6 million from the same group at the same point in 2008. The campaign already boasts 2.4 million donors this cycle, a benchmark it did not hit until late August 2008. Yet Obama's aides are convinced they will lose the money race this time. "We're not scared," Messina explains. "We're realistic."

The reason is simple: the small, online money that dominated the last campaign cannot beat the big money that is about to dominate the current one. Presumptive Republican nominee Mitt Romney has proved to be a formidable fundraiser, mining vast



networks of wealthy supporters for lots of large checks. Through June, his campaign raised the maximum contribution of \$2,500 from more than 33,000 Americans, compared with roughly 18,800 who gave that much to Obama. But Romney's real advantage comes from the checks his supporters are writing to outside groups. In June alone, a super PAC supporting Romney raised \$20 million in chunks as large as \$5 million, nearly matching all the money Romney has raised from donors giving less than \$200.

This advantage has called into question the future of the Internet-enabled money machine that was pioneered by Howard Dean in 2004 and lifted Obama to the White House in 2008. In a world of motivated billionaires and court rulings that allow unlimited donations to fund advertising up to Election Day, the people-powered campaigner is no longer king. "After this election's over, it is much more likely that all the candidates in both parties will be meeting with billionaires than figuring out how to mobilize millions of people," says Joe Trippi, who managed Dean's campaign in 2004. "It will be a huge setback."

Obama's aides have been issuing alarms for months in the form of increasingly urgent appeals for cash. The campaign expects to raise more than the \$745 million it raised in 2008, but that will be far less than the \$1.2 billion it foresees Romney and his allies collecting. "We've gotten our behinds handed to us... by Mitt Romney and his crew," the campaign's chief operating officer, Ann Marie Habershaw, wrote in a recent e-mail plea for \$3 donations. "I'll refrain from sharing how that really makes me feel."

But it isn't hard to imagine. As the campaign winds on, fundraising appeals have taken on an increasingly desperate tone, with subject lines like "The defeat of Barack Hussein Obama" and "This is potentially devastating." A big shift from the upbeat, sky's-the-limit tone of the 2008 campaign, it is grounded in the realities of a different cycle. The winds of change no longer seem to be blowing in his direction.

Back to the Future

POLITICAL FUNDRAISING MUST BEGIN early, and on that score, the Republicans caught the White House flat-footed almost from the start. The defining moment of the money race in 2008 actually came in

The New Money-Politics Lexicon

Super PAC

A political group permitted to raise unlimited funds from any source for the purpose of influencing elections

Citizens United

The 2010 Supreme Court decision defining corporations as individuals and clearing the way to unlimited giving

501(c)4 organization

A tax-exempt "social-welfare" group that can spend unlimited money on political advertising without publicly revealing donors' identities

Small donor

A person who gives \$200 or less. Checks larger than \$2,500 to general-election candidates are forbidden

Bundler

A person who collects checks from many donors before turning them over to a campaign, thus taking credit for the cash injection

January 2007, when campaign manager David Plouffe hired Joe Rospars, a 25-year-old veteran of the Dean campaign, to run what was then called new media. From that point on, technology designed to convince huge numbers of people that they had an obligation to give a few dollars became a central part of nearly everything the Obama campaign did.

In the 2012 campaign, the first defining moment occurred in October 2010, with a Federal Election Commission filing from a former campaign lawyer for Romney. Charlie Spies, who served as the chief financial officer of Romney's 2008 campaign, had joined with Romney's old political director, Carl Forti, to create an outside group that would collect checks of any size to advertise on Romney's behalf in the coming campaign.

Spies and Forti's outfit, Restore Our Future, is not the only outside group, of course, to take advantage of court rulings that allow unlimited donations to advertise for or against a candidate up to Election Day. But it is almost certain to be the most crucial to Romney's fortunes. During the primaries, Restore Our Future spent nearly \$34 million on advertising, almost as much as the Romney campaign and all of Romney's Republican rivals combined. It is not too much to say that, if nothing else, Restore Our Future secured Romney's.

The other defining moment came on the Democratic side, when Obama unilaterally disarmed. For most of the past two years, the Obama campaign has refused to play the new big-money game, sticking to the quaint line that big money has no place in national politics or the President's cause. Unlike Romney, who appeared at Restore Our Future events, Obama refused to lend his support to any outside spending efforts on his behalf. It was noble and idealistic, perhaps popular with his base, and practically ripped from a *West Wing* script about how Democrats should behave. And it was totally unrealistic. By February 2012, the no-big-money line had been dropped. Messina reversed course, announcing that the campaign would "face the reality of the law as it currently stands" and support the fundraising efforts of Priorities USA Action, a Democratic super PAC focused on the presidential election.

By then it was too late to catch up. Ever

since, the group has been struggling to meet its modest goal of \$100 million (current total: \$20.1 million). Democratic officials acknowledge privately that one of the group's weaknesses is the lack of a key fundraiser from the Obama inner circle. Another is its lack of established relationships with the party's moneyed elite. Instead, Priorities' senior strategist, Bill Burton, is a former deputy White House press secretary who led the charge *against* big money in 2008 on behalf of the Obama campaign. "If people want to support our campaign, they should do it through our campaign," Burton said back then.

Obama's zigging and zagging over whether to accept big money is a mistake no Democratic campaign is likely to repeat under the current legal regime. "When you go to set up a campaign in 2016, you are going to peel off a third of your senior staff," explains Scott Reed, the campaign manager for Bob Dole's 1996 run, "and say, 'Go start a super PAC. We'll see you after the campaign.'" Reed should know: he is currently advising the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, which has set up its own eight-figure outside spending effort for the fall campaign.

While breaking all records for big-dollar donations, the Romney campaign has by no means abandoned the job of raising money in small amounts, even though it is less successful at this point in the campaign than John McCain was in 2008. The campaign has mimicked the Obama strategy of asking for \$3 donations and holding raffles for microdonors to meet the candidate, and it has produced a smart-phone app to drive donations around the coming vice-presidential announcement. In the days after the Supreme Court upheld Obama's health care law, Romney's campaign tripled the number of servers for its website to handle the 55,000 donations it received (worth \$5.5 million) from Republicans warming to Romney's "repeal and replace" message. "We will bring in a substantial amount of low-dollar money this cycle," says Zac Moffatt, who is running the campaign's digital strategy. "You would be crazy not to do that."

Burn Rate

EVERY NOW AND THEN AT OBAMA HEADQUARTERS, a slow clap disrupts the office din, overwhelming even the pings and

The Big Givers To Democrats



Fred Eychaner
\$3,634,600

The Chicago billionaire is a media mogul with newspapers, TV and radio stations in his portfolio



Amy Goldman
\$2,645,040

The environmentalist and philanthropist is from a family invested in New York real estate



Jeffrey and Marilyn Katzenberg
\$2,431,300

Jeffrey is the founder of DreamWorks Studios and CEO of DreamWorks Animation



James and Marilyn Simons
\$2,199,000

James is the founder of the hedge fund Renaissance Technologies



Irwin and Joan Jacobs
\$2,179,300

Irwin is the founding chairman and CEO emeritus of Qualcomm, the mobile-technology company

pongs of table tennis. It begins with a few staffers, grows faster and then spreads to the hundreds of 20- and 30-somethings who sit hunched over laptops at long tables in the main room overlooking Grant Park. This is the Obama campaign's way of collectively sending off one of its own to join the ranks of organizers in some swing state.

It's also a reminder that Obamaland, with more than 700 staffers, has invested heavily in grassroots organizing to keep the race close in an unforgiving political year. The campaign has a high burn rate, aides admit, but they insist that it will pay off in the final months. The strategy borrows heavily from George W. Bush's 2004 re-election campaign: Spend the summer defining your opponent as subpar through a series of ads that establish the race as a choice. Hit your marks at the convention. Do well in the debates. And then surprise the opposition with a historic turnout effort built on years of data mining, identifying voters and getting them to the polls. That's the entire Obama fall campaign in a few sentences.

In the short term, this expensive strategy has created a remarkably negative campaign, with Obama trying to tear down Romney as a credible leader of the country and Romney trying to tear down Obama by making the election a referendum on the economy. The effect has been to drive up negative public opinion of both men, a particular risk for Obama, who will depend on his high personal-favorability rating to win over voters.

But at some point, the campaign's strategies will diverge. As Election Day approaches, Romney is counting on most undecided voters to break in his direction, driven by the economic doldrums and a massive barrage of advertising in swing states, paid for in part by large donations to super PACs. And Obama is counting on another swell of volunteers and last-minute donations to push Democratic turnout high enough to overwhelm the power of the super PACs. "The way we are going to combat this is by millions of people coming together," Messina says, as a Ping Pong ball continues to bounce in the background. It is a strategy that may work one last time. But don't look for many candidates in 2016 to try to copy the same playbook.

Source: Center for Responsive Politics

**The prevailing
orthodoxy**
*Ultra-conservatives
watch the funeral
procession of a
renowned rabbi in
Jerusalem*

WORLD

The Ultra



A full-page photograph of a man in a black coat and hat walking in a narrow Jerusalem street. He is looking slightly to the right. In the background, a young girl in a pink dress stands near a stone wall. A street sign is visible in the upper left corner.

רח' אברהם מסלונים
רח' אברהם מסלונים (מסלון-מסלון)
ساحة ابراهيم مسلونيم
AVRAHAM-MISLONIM ST.

With their numbers and their political clout growing, the ultra-Orthodox aren't just changing the makeup of Jerusalem. They are altering Israel's national identity

BY KARL VICK/JERUSALEM

Photographs by Oded Balilty for TIME

Holy City

Elhanan Gibli found God. Not just in the personal-salvation sense. There was an address.

God was last known to reside approximately 300 yards north of the minimart at the corner of Ma'ale HaShalom and Wadi Hilwa. There stood the Second Temple, built around the Ark of the Covenant containing the Holy of Holies. And two millennia after the temple's destruction, the power of the divine still radiated so potently from the remaining stones that Gibli recalls feeling it in his entire being the first time he entered Jerusalem's Old City, at age 13. The welling of awe affirmed a pair of decisions: One was to live his life as his parents had, wholly within a very conservative strain of Judaism known as ultra-Orthodox. The other was to live that life in Jerusalem. Both would play hell with the local real estate market.

Millions visit the Holy City each year. Most are pilgrims to the signal sites of Christianity, though Muslims gather at their own great shrine above the Western Wall. Neither, however, are terribly welcome as residents. Since 1967, Jerusalem has become a resolutely Jewish city, so much so that the central question preoccupying residents today is not how it might be divided with Palestinians—for they are widely ignored of late—but rather just how religiously conservative the city can become while remaining a place most Israeli Jews could imagine living.

Forty-five years after the last decisive contest for the city—the lightning push by Israeli forces who needed just two days of the Six-Day War to take the whole place—a new battle for Jerusalem is under way. This contest is a grinding war of attrition, fought from trench lines etched across leafy neighborhoods of a city divided between Jews like Gibli, who wear black fedoras and sit primly away from women on public buses, and Jews like Noam Pinchasi, who keeps a glossy of Marilyn Monroe next to the fridge.

Both men own apartments in a neighborhood called Kiryat Yovel, a seemingly

serene urban glade that is sizing up as the Somme or perhaps Little Big Horn. In a city of almost 800,000 people, Kiryat Yovel may be the last stand for Jews like Pinchasi, seculars who for decades have been fleeing the city in droves. Some 20,000 have left in the past seven years alone, reducing the share of the population who wear their faith lightly from a 37% plurality to a 31% minority, the same percentage as the ultra-Orthodox, but the number of ultra-Orthodox is rising. (About 35% of Jerusalem is Muslim Palestinian, with the remainder Christian or undeclared.)

It's a flight much of Israel is watching with concern bordering on alarm. The ultra-Orthodox are the fastest growing population in a Jewish state long governed by seculars but lately grappling with just how Jewish it wants to be. Not three months after Benjamin Netanyahu assembled what was called a broad coalition of extraordinary stability, it flew apart over the question of what to do about the ultra-Orthodox. The centrist Kadima party returned to opposition after Netanyahu refused to alienate the religious parties by requiring their youth to serve in the military. Draft avoidance is just one privilege. The ultra-Orthodox, whose hermetic lifestyle may be based on preoccupation with the next world but whose political clout defines *savvy* in this one, also enjoy subsidies for child care, education and housing. The community's power only grows with its numbers. Uncontained, it stands to fundamentally alter Israel's identity.

"This is a war over territory," says Pinchasi, speaking without metaphor. On Friday nights, he leads commando raids with like-minded compatriots on enemy positions, dodging police and groups of angry "blacks"—as the ultra-Orthodox are sometimes called—to sow discomfort and mischief. He's been arrested; he's been roughed up. But each week he's back out,

an urban guerrilla in a hoodie, slapping posters of classic nude paintings on synagogue doors. "They're afraid their children will see things they shouldn't see," he explains. "Our message is very strong and clear: This is not like Ramot, Ramot Eshkol, Neve Yaakov, Maalot Dafna," he says, naming Jerusalem neighborhoods that started out secular and are now solid black. "Here it is going to be war."

Men in Black

THREE GENERATIONS AGO, THE ULTRA-Orthodox were all but extinct. Their Lazarus-like comeback either threatens the fabric of Israel or, as they see it, points the way to the nation's salvation. Born in 18th century Eastern Europe—the inspiration for their wardrobe—the movement originated with rabbis who rejected the age of reason. Life was to be lived strictly by the Book—studying it and raising children in a tightly controlled environment to



PHOTOGRAPH BY AP/WIDEWORLD; COURTESY OF THE JERUSALEM POST



A city of stones

An ultra-Orthodox Jew walks on a street in the Yefe Nof neighborhood of Jerusalem

ensure that they would grow up to do the same. "We believe the way of life for us—to endeavor to keep the Bible, which we got from Moses—is difficult," says Yitzchak Pindrus, the ultra-Orthodox vice mayor of Jerusalem. "For a teenager, a youngster, the way to keep it is to stay in a certain, let's say, frame. That's why we want to live like our grandfathers. It's not about someone else," he says. "It helps us keep the Bible."

This means not only side locks on men and wigs or scarves on women but also separating girls from boys as early as nursery school. It means barring smart phones, which can access licentiousness on the Internet. It means a host of things far more easily assured if everyone in town is pulling in the same direction.

So when ultra-Orthodox Jews arrive in a neighborhood, they come in numbers. Three years ago, when Gibli moved to Kiryat Yovel, he was the first ultra-Orthodox in his building. Now ultra-Orthodox occupy four

ANCIENT CITY, NEW NEIGHBORS

As Jerusalem's ultra-Orthodox community grows, it is expanding into secular areas like Kiryat Yovel



of the eight apartments. Like Gibli's, each is crowded with religious books and children: Gibli and his wife Rachel have produced five in six years of marriage. "Every child is a gift," he says.

The munificence is changing the complexion of the city. At city hall on the day of our interview, Pindrus had appointments with three ultra-Orthodox groups looking to open kindergartens—the bellwether of a neighborhood turning black. In Jerusalem, the children of the very religious account for 65% of elementary-school pupils. Across Israel, where ultra-Orthodox now account for 10% of the population, they make up 21% of elementary-school enrollment. Demographers calculate that with a birthrate three to four times that of seculars, they will account for 1 in 5 Israelis in 20 years.

"We'll give you a good price because we want you out of here," a man in a black hat told a woman named Etty Ohaion when he

knocked at her door one recent day. A lot of people would have sold.

Almost wiped out by the Nazis, the ultra-Orthodox now nurture others with their fecundity, overflowing districts built expressly for them, conquering neighborhoods designated for others. But something was afoot in Kiryat Yovel. Ohaion closed her door. And when a religious man made an offer to Pinchasi's neighbor, the urban guerrilla took things up a notch. "I have barbecues during Shabbat," Pinchasi told the man, keenly aware of the prohibition on fire on the Sabbath. "Pork. We're going to play music. We smoke." His eyes danced. "And we bring prostitutes here."

The man bought anyway, perhaps driven by the housing market's law of supply and demand. One thousand religious couples wed in the city each year and start looking for a place of their own in the Holy City. Jerusalem is surrounded on its north, south and east by Palestinian territory, and they could move there. But Israel pays a political price every time it builds there. "Where am I supposed to go?" asks Gibli, on a park bench in Kiryat Yovel, which lies to the west.

Attacks and Counterattacks

KIRYAT YOVEL TRANSLATES AS "JUBILEE Town." Named to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the organization that began purchasing land for a future state, its streets are named for countries that voted to affirm Israel's entry into the U.N. General Assembly and for the heroes of Zionism, the ideology that demanded the country's creation. The neighborhood was never homogeneous; professors can be found in the single-family homes with the commanding views. Lower down lies Stern Street, named for the fascist founder of the preindependence Stern Gang and the progenitor of a gang of its own: delinquents from the high-rises hastily built to shelter the poorest immigrants. Still, until the ultra-Orthodox began buying about eight years ago, the area was overwhelmingly secular.

Pinchasi qualifies as a prototype. "I'm not an atheist," he says. His family lights a candle and blesses the wine on Friday nights. Yet religion is an almost vestigial element of his primary identity, which is Israeli. Pinchasi personifies the New Jew, the muscular alternative early Zionist fashioned against the stereotype of the scrawny scholar of Eastern Europe's ghettos—precisely the type embraced by the ultra-Orthodox. First as a paratrooper, then as a sky marshal and finally as a

bodyguard for Israel's President, Pinchasi devoted the first half of his life to protecting the state. When, in his 30s, he left the field to younger men, he decided to make a living with a driving school, only to find himself tooling around a city that looked less and less like him.

Jerusalem's holiness was reasserting itself. "The whole idea of the spiritual Jerusalem is becoming much stronger," says Rabbi Moshe Grylak, editor in chief of the ultra-Orthodox weekly *Mishpacha*. For decades, religious Jews, keen to remain near the Western Wall of the Second Temple, lived in the Old City or in a couple of neighborhoods outside. Today Jerusalem's entire north side teems with men in black and women in wigs pushing baby carriages.

Their numbers brought political power, which brought money. In Israel's parliamentary system, governments are formed by coalitions; since 1977, all but one have included ultra-Orthodox parties. They make great partners: religious parties deliver votes and in return ask only to continue to be left alone with their state subsidies for small children, housing and the religious schools that men attend most of their adult lives. "They're working in a world economy but not in this world," says Bar Ilan University professor Menachem Friedman, an expert on the ultra-Orthodox. "They're accumulating mitzvahs to get a good seat in the next world."

The arrangement began in 1948, when Israel's founders created just 40 slots to replenish the stock of Torah scholars wiped out in the Holocaust. Thirty years later,

Menachem Begin saw votes in increasing the number, and today Torah study has become an entitlement. Not even half of ultra-Orthodox men work for wages. Fewer still serve in the military. The situation engenders resentment among taxpayers and veterans that is lately exploding into the political realm. One of the events that shattered Netanyahu's coalition was the "suckers protest," 20,000 people taking their objections to the ultra-Orthodox into the streets—the venue Pinchasi has been sneaking down to for two years, always under cover of darkness.

Pinchasi ghosts around the block in his wife's car, a white Subaru model called, nicely, a B4. The first lap is with headlights off. "I'm trying not to be paranoid," Pinchasi says, but it's a night operation in the new battle for Jerusalem, and he's been tailed before. More than once, he says, an unmarked car disturbed the stillness of a Sabbath night a moment after his own car passed, falling in a few lengths back.

Another Friday after midnight, a squad car pulled up just as he got behind the wheel. "Hi, Noam," the officer said. "Where are you going? I hope you're not out to make trouble." Pinchasi smiled. On the backseat lay a pot of glue and a roll of posters celebrating the unclothed female form. "I'm going here and there," Pinchasi said, only the truth.

His crusade began after a pair of neighborhood pools banned mixed swimming during daylight hours. It gained steam when unlicensed synagogues appeared in homes and storefronts. The city forced some to close. Others Pinchasi shut himself, squirting glue into the locks.

"Then there's the *eruv* thing," Pinchasi says. An *eruv* is a boundary, a wire stretched around a Jewish town. Inside it, observant Jews are permitted to carry things—a purse, a prayer book—that they would otherwise be barred from lifting during the enforced rest of the Sabbath. There's an *eruv* around the whole of Jerusalem, but newly arrived residents of Kiryat Yovel wanted their own. Without asking, they stuck poles on private property and strung wire between them.

Pinchasi got a saw. The racket drew witnesses, and he spent a night in custody. "We learned it was illegal to cut down even illegal poles," he says. After that he found a more discreet way to cut wood, a kind of lacerating rope—"very quiet," Pinchasi says—but the ultra-Orthodox answered his innovation with their own, girdling poles in steel sheaths. So Pinchasi went for the wire. To reach it, as high as a phone line, he first struggled with a Ginsu knife lashed to

Across
Jerusalem,
children
of the very
religious
account for
65%
of elementary-
school pupils



a stick. Then he discovered the Wolf-Garten professional tree trimmer. Made in Germany. It extends up to 4 m. 250 shekels (about \$65). "The best of its kind," he says, flourishing the contraption like a saber.

The man is full on. Pinchasi parks in the shadows, pulls up the hoodie and runs in a crouch. He snips the wire at one, two, three poles, then leaves behind a sticker: PIRATE ERUV over a skull and crossbones. One night, about 30 ultra-Orthodox youths caught him in the act and roughed up his crew, including a Hebrew University professor. "To Prof. Dan and Noam, the secular maniacs," reads graffiti on a utility box near their homes. "Stop. Get out of the neighborhood. You're in our sights," signed "The commando of the neighborhood."

Pinchasi drives to Gibli's neighborhood, parks and reaches for the posters. Botticelli's *The Birth of Venus* goes up on a synagogue door, then on a recycling bin directly across the street. "My basic assumption," Pinchasi says, "is if they feel uncomfortable, they won't come here."

Down but Not Out

THE BOOKISH ULTRA-ORTHODOX HAVE their militants too, hard-eyed zealots whose extremism defines not only the public debate but increasingly the public spaces of Jerusalem. Downtown billboards in Israel's capital no longer feature women; advertisers fear defacement or, worse, boycotts. On public buses, ultra-Orthodox women sit in the back—a

situation Hillary Clinton likened to the pre-segregation South when it bubbled up in the controversy that consumed Israel in December. In Bet Shemesh, a half-hour outside Jerusalem, ultra-Orthodox men spit on an 8-year-old girl who was on her way to school, calling her a "whore" for her long-sleeved clothes, which were not conservative enough for their standards.

In Kiryat Yovel, most of the new arrivals are gentler, even sly. The latest *eruv* countermove was to forgo wire and demarcate a boundary with an array of potted plants. Indeed, Pinchasi's victories may prove to be small battles in a larger war that he and those like him are losing. Religious Jews may account for less than 20% of the neighborhood's 21,000 residents, but they keep arriving. "Ten, 15 years from now, it's all going to be ultra-Orthodox," says a religious resident named Itzick, who moved in three years ago. "It's certain. It's clear. All the neighborhoods that are secular are old people. There are no young people coming."

But the fight's not quite over yet. In a mark of the neighborhood's strategic importance, secular families are organizing to buy property in Kiryat Yovel. The effort, dubbed New Spirit, began with a group of Hebrew University students who were unwilling to join the stream of young seculars exiting Jerusalem. "People do not feel together anymore. I think this is the major challenge in Israel today," says one of them, Nir Yanovsky Dagan. "For me, Jerusalem is

Mix well with water

Secular and Orthodox Jews enjoy the sun at a spring-fed reservoir in Jerusalem

the center of the story." The 10 fellow liberals in his self-made community banded together in something like one of the kibbutzim of early Israel. Dagan and his wife just signed to buy a flat in a building specifically swarmed by secular young families. It wasn't easy. The ultra-Orthodox get subsidies, as do many who buy on the Palestinian side of the Green Line (where Dagan says city officials urged him to go). "I want a pluralistic city again," he says.

There are signs it might be working. This year the number of secular students in Jerusalem schools actually increased, after 15 years of decline. On the other hand, Dagan says one community is thinking of moving together to Bet Shemesh because its members can't find affordable shelter in the capital.

At his desk in city hall, Pindrus smiles indulgently. "Be serious," he says. "These 20 families, nice youngsters, come out of college, they're going to change the area? Very nice." He has 50 of his people living unseen like sleeper cells in an ostensibly secular neighborhood at the city's southern border. "This is the reality in Jerusalem," says Grylak, the ultra-Orthodox magazine editor. "Demography is geography." —WITH REPORTING BY AARON J. KLEIN/JERUSALEM ■

The Challenge of 78°13' North Latitude

June 2011: Svalbard Islands, Norway

Their breath was frozen in the -50°C Arctic air, but they didn't mind, because, as Huawei engineers, they had just completed the world's northernmost Long-Term Evolution (LTE) base station - bringing 100MB wireless internet service to the people of Svalbard.

As a leading global ICT solutions provider, we develop the technologies that help you share your dreams and let your inspiration travel. Huawei. Building a connected world of endless possibilities.

Find out more at: [Huawei, the most northern LTE base station](#)



Photo by Huawei staff: Wang Changmian at Svalbard Islands, Norway

The Culture

54 POP CHART Betty White! / **56 FOOD** Nouveau ice cream
58 ART Brazilian street art in Boston / **60 TECH** Google's hardware / **61 TUNED IN** Online vs. prime-time Olympics

Cherry with red wine and lavender
ice cream, available at the Chocolate
Blue Parlor in Berkeley, Calif.
PAGE 56



Pop Chart



FAKE-VAMPIRE EDITION

GOOD WEEK/
BAD WEEK

Sarah Michelle Gellar

The former *Buffy* star confirmed she's pregnant with her second child

Kristen Stewart

The *Twilight* star reportedly separated from boyfriend Robert Pattinson following news of her affair



MOVIES

Going Gaga

Lady Gaga is turning triple threat: dancer, singer and now star of *Machete Kills*, the new Robert Rodriguez noir thriller, due in 2013. In her first big-screen role, the pop queen will play La Chameleón, who's known for changing her appearance. We're sure that was a total stretch.



THEY'RE WITH THE BANDS As part of "Tangle," a recent exhibition at New York City's Lincoln Center, Australia-based Polyglot Theatre gave children balls of elastic, then helped them wrap the material around a set of 24 poles. The result: a beautiful, stretchy web of color whose structure changes on the whims of its visitors.



ME-WOW

10,146

Nominations submitted to the first Internet Cat Video Festival, which aims to crown the meme-test of them all. The Aug. 30 event, hosted by the Walker Art Center in Minneapolis, will be divided into Oscars-style "CAT-egories" such as comedy, drama and foreign language.

MARKETING Out to Lunch (Shhhh!)

In a brazen—and hilarious—attempt to boost its noon-time traffic, Applebee's is now selling "lunch decoys," inflatable dummies designed to take your place at work while you skip out for a meal. The blow-up dolls sell for \$6.99 on Amazon and come in six styles, including the Executive (right), the Cubicle Queen and the Multi-Tasker, who's apparently "resilient against angry bosses." Somewhere, a middle-aged Ferris Bueller is cackling with joy.



REVIEWS

ON TIME.COM



For our takes on *Celeste and Jesse Forever* (left), *Total Recall* and more, visit time.com/entertainment

REALITY TV

All in the Families

Can the Palins keep up with the Kardashians? You betcha! Now that Bristol has signed on for *Dancing with the Stars: All Stars* and Todd is gearing up for *Stars Earn Stripes* (premiering Aug. 13 on NBC), Sarah's clan is just two reality shows shy of Kim's. Here's how others stack up.



THE PLAYMATES

The Girls Next Door: Holly's World, Kendra, Kendra on Top, The Girls Next Door, The Burnin' House, Bridget's Sexiest Beaches, Dancing with the Stars (Kendra), DWTS (Holly)
TOTAL: 8



THE KARDASHIANS

Keeping Up with the Kardashians, Kourtney and Khloe Take Miami, Kourtney and Kim Take New York, Khloe and Lamar, DWTS (Kim), DWTS (Rob), DWTS (Bruce)
TOTAL: 7



THE PALINS

Sarah Palin's Alaska, Life's a Trip, Stars Earn Stripes, DWTS (Bristol), DWTS: All Stars (Bristol)
TOTAL: 5



THE OSBOURNES

The Osbournes, The Osbournes Reloaded, Jack Osbourne: Adrenaline Junkie, DWTS (Kelly)
TOTAL: 4

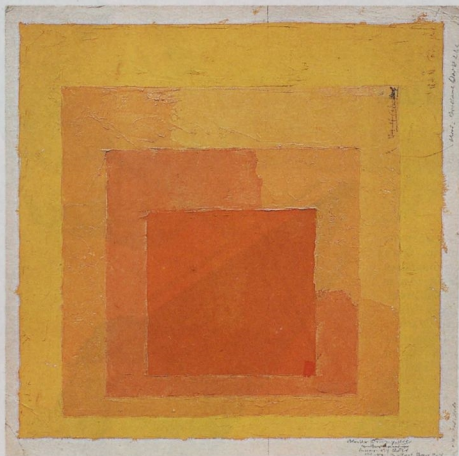


THE GOSSELINS

Jon and Kate Plus 8, Kate Plus 8, DWTS (Kate)
TOTAL: 3

NOT-SO-ROUGH DRAFTS

How did Josef Albers paint so perfectly within the lines for his famous series of colorful, concentric squares? He practiced on paper. Nearly 60 of the German-born artist's studies—which explore how hues appear to change when placed side by side—are on view at Manhattan's Morgan Library and Museum through Oct. 14.



QUICK TALK Betty White

"At my age," says the 90-year-old actress, "things begin to blend together." Then again, White's schedule would make anyone's head spin: the former Golden Girl is currently playing a sassy landlord (on TV Land's *Hot in Cleveland*), a lovable host (of NBC's seniors-prank-youngsters show *Off Their Rockers*) and a wacky animated grandma (in *The Lorax*, out Aug. 7 on DVD). Here, she kicks it (really) old-school with TIME. —DAN MACSAI

Your work life is jam-packed with movies, TV shows and now an obligation to entertain more than 450,000 followers on Twitter. What do you do to relax? I spend as much time at home as I possibly can—which seems to be getting less and less—with my golden retriever Pontiac. His name's Pontiac? I didn't name him. He's a career trained guide

Who's the funniest person White's ever worked with? "Tim Conway from The Carol Burnett Show. He can put me absolutely out!"



dog. But I like to think of him as the Indian chief, not the car. **Of course.** Actually, when the Pontiac car company went out of business, I sat him down and said, "Oh, Ponty, it wasn't anything you did, I promise." And he was looking at me like, "Oh, Mommy is telling me something so important." **He was probably hoping for a treat.** You know he was! **By the way, congrats on your birthday party (NBC's Betty White's 90th Birthday special) being nominated for an Emmy.** That's got to be a Hollywood first. Well, isn't that the silliest? I was thrilled. I can't be coy. **Off Their Rockers** got one too. **Any hints about what's coming up?** I'm going to a meeting today where we'll go over the material and make sure everything is copacetic. Our basic rule is, nothing mean-spirited. **Have you ever rejected a prank?** Not so far. Ask me tonight!



IRON MAN

The .0000001%

How much would it cost to become Iron Man? Roughly \$1.6 billion, says MoneySupermarket.com, which tallied the price of such essentials as the arc reactor (\$36 million) and wrist-mounted missile launchers (\$1.5 million a pop). But what's a little—er, a lotta—cash when the fate of the world is at stake?

3 THINGS YOU DON'T HAVE TO WORRY ABOUT THIS WEEK

1. **London's ability to put on a party.** This year's opening ceremony averaged 40.6 million viewers in the U.S.—an all-time high.
2. **Dane Cook's sense of shame and propriety.** The Internet coaxed an apology out of the comedian within 24 hours of his making a crude joke about the Aurora shooting.
3. **Norway's border security.** Snoop Dogg (who's now calling himself Snoop Lion) was barred from visiting the country for two years after allegedly trying to smuggle in weed.

Food

Two Scoops of Ube Microcreameries churn out ever stranger flavors

By Josh Sanburn

VANILLA IS STILL BY FAR THE MOST popular ice cream flavor in America. That's a testament not only to its use in sundaes and on pies but also to its ability to compete with the 32 bazillion other flavors that are vying for our attention. Partly as a response to the trendiness of artisanal foods, ice cream has been moving into more adventurous territory. Weird flavors—or at least the idea of them—have become so mainstream that customers expect a good ice cream shop to offer something unusual even if no one ever orders it. At Sweet Republic in Scottsdale, Ariz., the summer lineup includes chocolate orange Sichuan peppercorn, honey blue cheese and sweet corn, which contains whole kernels of locally grown corn. “They either love it or tell us that it was a fun flavor—and then get their usual favorite,” says co-owner Helen Yung. “But they’ll still tell their friends about it.”

Owners are generally happy to crank out the experimental stuff, since it's often what gets folks in the door. At Salt & Straw in Portland, Ore., chef Tyler Malek uses goat cheese to make a marionberry-and-habanero-jam ice cream. He recently began work on a tempura-battered-bacon flavor, but his cousin (and the store's co-owner) Kim Malek nixed it. It was too labor-intensive, for one thing, and in terms of flavor, she says, “it was too far out for me.”

Contrast that with Manhattan's Il Laboratorio del Gelato, where in-store customers can get scoops of such oddities as black sesame, Earl Grey tea and cheddar cheese. Although the street traffic is great, about 75% of its business comes from restaurants, many of which request new, specially designed flavors. In 10 years, owner Jon Snyder has rejected only one ingredient request—caviar—but not because of the ick factor, he says. “I just didn't want to contaminate my machinery with it.” ■

Those little beige bits? They're Krispy Kreme doughnuts.

Krispy Kreamer, Morrell's, Atlanta

Avocado, Il Laboratorio del Gelato, New York City

Surprisingly sweet, with just a hint of avocado

The purple-yam flavor could almost be confused with coconut

Ube, Fossilman's, Alhambra, Calif.

Think marionberry slushie, without a hangover

Cherry with red wine and lavender sorbet, Chocoplaton Blue Parlor, Berkeley, Calif.

The Culture



Black sesame, // Laboratorio del Gelato, New York City

The color is off-putting, but the taste is refreshing



Sweet corn, Sweet Republic, Scottsdale, Ariz.

Yes, those are whole kernels. And they're delicious

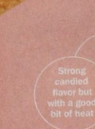


Chocolate orange Sichuan peppercorn, Sweet Republic, Scottsdale, Ariz.



Chèvre with marmalade habanero jam, Salt & Straw, Portland, Ore.

A perfect balance of sweet berries and zesty jam



Strong, candied flavor but with a good bit of heat



Thick and fleshy. Essentially a mango in a blender

Mango lassi frozen yogurt, Jeni's, Columbus, Ohio



All candied orange—until the cayenne really kicks in at the end

Cayenne candied orange sorbet, Hungry Giacomo, San Francisco

Art

Writing on the Wall. Graffiti artists Os Gemeos reimagine urban space

By Christopher Schmidt

WITH GRAFFITI ART, LOCATION IS HALF the story. The Brazilian street artists Gustavo and Otávio Pandolfo, known as Os Gemeos, or, in Portuguese, the Twins, began their careers tagging buildings in their native São Paulo during the late 1980s. Since then, their instantly recognizable images—colorful dreamscapes that draw on Brazilian folklore and Western hip-hop culture and star a cast of wistful yellow characters—have transformed public spaces from Coney Island, N.Y., to Miami Beach to the 2004 Athens Olympics and from a city train in Porto Alegre, Brazil, to a multistory building in Lisbon and even a 13th century castle in Scotland.

Their latest commission takes Os Gemeos to Boston, where the Institute of Contemporary Art (ICA) is presenting their first U.S. solo exhibition through Nov. 25. The brothers are creating a mural along the city's Rose F. Kennedy Greenway, turning the domed roof of an air-intake station into the hooded head of a vigilante graffiti writer and painting a red-and-blue-checked pattern over the wall's original grid. A flat surface thus shape-shifts into a three-dimensional giant who seems about to peel off the wall and stroll carefully into the streets.

The twins' ability to straddle the worlds of street art and fine art, not to mention their knack for big statements, is part of what makes them "two of the most influential artists working today," says Jeffrey Deitch, their former dealer and currently the director of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Los Angeles.

"In our art, we strive to capture the play of childhood," says Otávio. Take, for example, one of the ICA show's highlights, *Upside Down Sunrise*, in which a man hangs happily from the ceiling of his topsy-turvy house while his double-bodied guitar shrieks in surprise. Outrageously patterned fish float freely across Os Gemeos' canvases, murky senders of the surreal. In one canvas, a pair with Op-art style scales sweetly kiss while just nearby, an upended catch

serves as a sinister, openmouthed palanquin for a blue-skinned bandit-princess.

Amid the high-volume color and cartoon whimsy of their paintings and sculptures, melancholy is an undertow. The yellow figures of Os Gemeos' universe often have wary eyes and hunched shoulders; they seem on the defensive against the chaos of urban life and filled with *saudade*, or longing, for Brazil's rustic northeast, whose folklore traditions inform many of the paintings in the ICA show.

Os Gemeos' iconic, inimitable creations are the product of "one sensibility intensified by a factor of two," as Deitch puts it, the outgrowth of a lifetime of shared art-making. In the office above their São Paulo studio, which is crammed with sketches, photographs and dolls, the twins speak as if from the same mind. When the more talkative Gustavo pauses to find a picture of himself and his brother at Burning Man, Otávio stops doodling to pick up the conversational thread. How do they negotiate the division of labor for their compositions? "We don't," Gustavo says with a laugh.

Their connection is an inclusive one, attracting collaborators like Pink Floyd's Roger Waters, for whom they painted a giant pig balloon for a recent concert. ("That was amazing, because we grew up watching *The Wall*," says Gustavo.) Lance Armstrong owns some of their work, as does Johnny Depp, who commissioned them to paint his Los Angeles home.

But hobnobbing with celebrities doesn't mean the Pandolfo brothers ever stray from home for too long. They recently began a project to paint entire trains in the poorer areas of the Brazilian northeast, recruiting other renowned graffiti writers to participate. The project reveals an impulse central to Os Gemeos' art: to acknowledge social realities while providing a dreamlike escape from them. "Life is better here," says Gustavo, pointing to one of the twins' paintings, "than here," he says, touching the scarred surface of his desk. ■





1. *Dentro do Arco-Iris, E Assim* (Within the Rainbow, 2010) uses a patchwork of old doors and found materials

2. For the painting *Untitled* (2012), the twins collaborated with their older brother Arnaldo

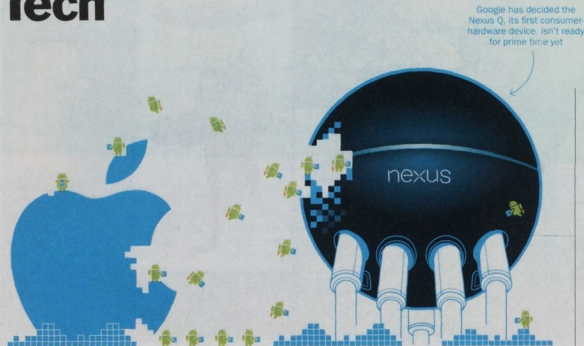


3. Os Gemeos' new mural in progress on Boston's Rose F. Kennedy Greenway

4. The organ keys of *Os Músicos* (The Musicians, 2008) activate a grid of humanoid speakers



Tech



If You Build It, Google and Microsoft follow Apple into the hardware market

By Harry McCracken

"PEOPLE WHO ARE REALLY SERIOUS ABOUT SOFTWARE," the visionary computer scientist Alan Kay declared in 1982, "should make their own hardware." His advice is widely cited in technology circles—and routinely ignored. Among the big players, only Apple has consistently designed its devices top to bottom. That's why it provides the most seamless consumer experiences in the business and dominates the digital-entertainment market. Now that Apple is the planet's most profitable tech company, Google and Microsoft—two outfits that got huge from software and services rather than physical products—are showing a newfound interest in hardware.

Of course, it's tricky for them to do this without ticking off the hardware companies they already partner with. Google has even said flat out that it won't give preferential treatment to Motorola Mobility, the phonemaker it just acquired for \$12.5 billion. Instead, Google will keep working in close collaboration with handset makers to create co-branded products based on its Android operating system, such as the Samsung Galaxy Nexus phone and the new Asus-built Nexus 7 tablet.

But in June, Google announced it would start selling the Nexus Q, a \$299 media-streaming gizmo that doesn't compete directly with anything manufactured by its partners. It's the first consumer device to feature Google-designed hardware; it's even made in a facility near the company's Silicon Valley headquarters. Resembling an overgrown Magic 8 Ball, the Q has no

buttons or switches. Cable hookups let you connect an HDTV and speakers and stream songs and videos from the cloud via wi-fi. Its big selling point is its sociability: any guest with a smart phone or tablet can add to or reorder the host's playlist. The catch is that those phones and tablets have to be running Android software, and they can fill the Q's queue with music, movies and TV shows only from Google's Play store and YouTube.

The Q is stylish and imaginative—a colorful band around its belly pulsates in concert with music—and so far, interest is outstripping demand. But early reviews slammed the software as baffling and far more limited than the \$99 Apple TV box. On July 31, Google announced that it was delaying the Q so it could add more features.

Microsoft has bolder plans for hardware. When Windows 8 ships in October, the operating system will arrive, as usual, on PCs from Dell, HP and other companies. However, it will also be available on Surface, a wildly ambitious line of tablets that Microsoft has created from scratch. A nearly flat keyboard doubles as a cover, connects to the tablet magnetically and uses sensors to provide what Microsoft claims is remarkably comfy typing. Much remains unknown about Surface, including its price. But by attempting to build the next great PC, Microsoft has already dropped a bombshell on the industry it helped invent. Other makers of Windows computers will have to prove, in effect, that Kay was wrong. I wouldn't bet against him. ■

Complete Packages

Gadgets with homegrown hardware and software



iPad

Apple micromanages everything for its tablet, down to the custom-engineered processor that powers it. By comparison, most tablets that use Google's Android software seem cobbled together



Xbox 360

Microsoft's best-selling game console has shown that the Windows people can do hardware and do it well—which helps explain why the company is launching its first in-house tablet this fall



BlackBerry

Doing everything doesn't guarantee anything. The future of RIM's once mighty phone got more dire when the company announced it is delaying its new operating system until 2013

Tuned In

Online Defeats TV! At NBC's Olympics, the thrill of video vs. the agony of delay

By James Poniewozik

THERE ARE MANY GREAT RIVALRIES playing out at the London Olympics, one of them in NBC's coverage itself: between digital and old-school ways of consuming media. The network's online livestream (on the Web and mobile apps) lets you watch every event live for the first time ever but has technical hiccups. The TV broadcast gives you snazzy video but, following a practice that dates back to Roone Arledge, makes you wait to watch major events tape delayed in prime time, on NBC's schedule.

It's a test case for two different visions of media: a rough but all-you-can-eat diet for free-range viewers or a professional, regimented program for couch potatoes. It's the upstart vs. the old veteran! The Intertubes vs. the Boob Tube! Which is doing London better? I give you Tuned In's Olympic video heptathlon:

► OPENING CEREMONIES COVERAGE.

TV begins with an unfair advantage: NBC showed the ceremony in all its weird, Tolkienesque glory only in prime time on tape delay. The TV audience is far more lucrative for advertisers, of course, but the network's stated reason for not livestreaming the show was that it needed "context." That context included Bob Costas saying Djibouti has "a name that makes you smile" and Meredith Vieira saying of World Wide Web inventor Tim Berners-Lee, "If you haven't heard of him, we haven't either." NBC also cut a musical tribute to honor victims of London's 2005 terrorist bombing. Why? "Our programming is tailored for the U.S. television audience." There's the global Olympic spirit, NBC! Winner: TV (by default)

► **COMMENTARY.** TV has it. Online, except for marquee events, has less or none. You'd think this would give the category



Bob Costas

to TV. Hardly! NBC's analysis is crammed with nervous chatter (one announcer said a gymnast's dismount "will be coming up at the end of the routine") and soft features. (The British drink beer! In pubs! That's what they call bars!) Online, gymnastics is nothing but the soft scrape of a hand on a pommel horse; badminton is all satisfying thwacks. Do we need a professional to explain the rules of field hockey? I know you knock the hell out of a ball with a stick, and that's good enough for me. Winner: online

► INSTANT GRATIFICATION.

No contest: on my iPad on July 30, I watched Ryan Lochte fail to medal in the day's most anticipated race while NBC's viewers watched ... water polo. To protest these tape delays, viewers created the hashtag #NBCfail on Twitter and a parody news account, @NBCDelayed ("BREAKING: Muhammad Ali lights flame at opening ceremonies in Atlanta"). But NBC took comfort in its record ratings. Indeed, the buzz from people who saw events before you probably boosts viewership. For TV, as with commercial airlines and your health insurer, the customer's convenience is not necessarily best for business. Winner: online

► **VISUALS.** There's a reason no one mounts an iPhone on the living-room wall. While it was great to see that Lochte race as it happened, the trade-off—as thousands of fellow fans crowded the livestream—was a picture that looked as if I had been watching from the bottom of an Olympic-size pool. Winner: TV

► **EASE OF USE.** To watch online, you need a computer or mobile device. You need



to shell out for a cable or satellite subscription. If your provider is not part of the NBC streaming deal, you're screwed. And you risk buffering, pixelation, freezing or crashing just as Usain Bolt bursts off the blocks. To watch on TV, you turn on a television set. Winner: TV

► **CHOICE.** Here is the great philosophical difference between the two formats. The livestream gives you media the 21st century way: what you want, where and when you want to watch. TV curates a schedule for you and, because NBC fears live-TV events from London will cannibalize prime-time revenue, you have to wait for the biggest events. Yes, online you have to read a menu and make some decisions. But this is the Olympics, people! Push yourselves! Winner: online

► **COMMERCIALS.** The livestream has banner ads, and its video ads are abrupt but fewer and shorter. NBC's prime time is loaded with ads (one of which, for the *Today* show, spilled news of Missy Franklin's gold-medal win just before her race aired). But this is how American TV viewers pay the freight for the cameras, Ryan Seacrest's hair product and—via the \$2.2 billion NBC paid the International Olympic Committee for 2010 and 2012 rights—much of the rest of the world. Winner: online

Online wins the medal. But there's a big consolation prize, which explains why NBC has run its coverage as it has. Despite—indeed because of—frustrations like ads and tape delay, TV still brings home far, far more gold. ■



Ryan Lochte



Missy Franklin

Joel Stein



Chick-fil-Gay

If I disagree with the president of Chick-fil-A, can I still enjoy his sandwich?

WHEN CHICK-FIL-A—THE ATLANTA-based fast-food chain known for its delicious chicken and refusal to dispel the stereotype that Southerners can't spell—opened a branch near my house in Los Angeles last September, I couldn't wait to try it. Ten months later, I still hadn't made it there. Apparently I am so busy that I do not have time for fast food.

But as with everything else in life, if you wait too long, the president of Chick-fil-A will make a controversial statement about gay marriage. "I think we are inviting God's judgment on our nation when we shake our fist at him and say, 'We know better than you as to what constitutes a marriage,'" Dan Cathy said. "I pray God's mercy on our generation that has such a prideful, arrogant attitude to think that we have the audacity to define what marriage is about." Then the mayors of Boston and Chicago told the company not to apply for permits to open restaurants in their cities, the Jim Henson Co. ended a toy-licensing agreement, and Mike Huckabee organized a Chick-fil-A Appreciation Day, which was backed by Sarah Palin, Rick Santorum and Billy Graham. As a guy who is very pro-gay rights, I desperately wished I'd eaten that chicken sandwich before it became symbolic. I know a lot of musicians refused to play Sun City during apartheid, but I bet Sun City had crappy chicken sandwiches.

It's hard to boycott a restaurant you've never been to, but spending is a direct form of support, and I didn't want my money going to the anti-gay-marriage organizations Chick-fil-A has donated to. But I found out my friend Caleb Bacon, a straight guy who is pro-gay marriage, had just gone to Chick-fil-A anyway. His moral reasoning was complex but is best summed up by the fact that the sandwich costs \$3.29. When that piece of anti-Kantian reasoning failed

to persuade me, Bacon offered to take me to my local Chick-fil-A in one of the most liberal areas of the country and see if the customers could talk me into a meal.

As we walked up to the outdoor tables on Sunset Boulevard at 3 p.m., I realized I had made a classic error in political-science experiments: I had not eaten since breakfast. So I had trouble listening to screenwriter Matt Kemp, who had unfinished waffle fries in front of him. Kemp, who is not in favor of gay marriage, has been yelled at a few times by people driving past who called him a bigot. But he thinks trying to police your purchases on the basis of a corporate leader's political beliefs is not only impossible but against the notion of engaging with people you disagree with. Plus, Chick-fil-A doesn't discriminate against gay customers or employees. In fact, he argued, its stance is the same as Obama's was until recently. Kemp's argument was even more convincing given that he had just come from volunteering on Skid Row, whereas I had just come from commenting on my own Facebook photos.

I was then approached by Kubi Grombelski, a customer who I could tell

was gay because he told me he was gay. "I wanted to see how they'd treat me," he said. "I have no complaints." He too thought it was extreme for me not to engage with an organization just because I disagreed with its president, if its policies weren't discriminatory. The food, he implied, did not discriminate either. "They had nuggets that are not fried—they're broiled. It's healthier," he said. "I ate them. I hope I'm not going to hell."

Being a corporate citizen is tricky. At

what point does a company's inhumane treatment of foreign workers, its political contributions or its decision to move its greatest columnist from the back page to the next-to-last page become so offensive that you can't give it money? Would a world controlled only by people whose ethics I agree with even have fast-food sandwiches? Or anything besides indie rock, coffee shops and blogs? Do I expect people who are against gay marriage to avoid companies that have made pro-gay statements, including Home Depot, J.C. Penney and the Gay Chapel of Las Vegas? And while it's easy to walk away from a chicken sandwich, Tim Cook would have to give Apple employees a day off for Pol Pot's birthday before I gave up my iPhone.

Confused, partly because of dangerously low blood sugar, I talked to Brian Hobbs, who was eating Chick-fil-A for the first time. "I'm super in support of gay marriage," he said. "But I've got a good friend who works at Chick-fil-A. He's openly gay. He was upset, but it's not like he's going to quit his job for it." I looked deeply into Hobbs' sandwich and told him to take a bite so I could see how his soul felt. His review: "I wouldn't go out of my way for it. It's no better than Jack in the Box."

That made my decision a little easier. I left Chick-fil-A and went to the Oaks Gourmet Market, where the guy behind the counter told me he was way into gay marriage. I got a veggie-meatball sandwich and ate it very, very quickly. I don't think it was necessary or even right, but I know it made me feel good. Though, if it got much later, I would have eaten a janjaweed sundae. ■



COMMEMORATIVE REISSUE

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10 Questions

In school sports, Kinney says, he was the human equivalent of an orange cone the other kids dribbled around



Wimpy Kid's best-selling author and movie producer **Jeff Kinney** on comedy, competition and feeling like a fraud

Yours is a small genre—children's book cartoons. Do you have a great rivalry with the underpants guy? I take comedy very seriously, and I feel very competitive. But not with *Captain Underpants* in particular.

Maurice Sendak said he didn't intend to write for children. Did you? I labored for eight years thinking I was writing a book for adults that was a nostalgic look back on childhood. Then my publisher informed me I'd written a children's book.

How did you take the news? It took me a few minutes to get over the shock, but my sensibilities are G-rated anyway. Some of the best comedy writing is in Pixar movies.

Your third movie, *Diary of a Wimpy Kid: Dog Days*, is upon us. Did you get a little thrill when the second *Wimpy* movie did better than the non-G-rated films it opened with?

When it opened at No. 1, I was happy. Most children's fare has huge budgets, and it's 3-D and CGI. These are really ordinary stories with actors. It's very cool that people like these movies.

You've said you think you might have undiagnosed ADD? If I were put into a college lecture hall right now and told to pay attention for 45 minutes, it would be physically im-

possible for me to do. I'm one of those people who believe that ADD is a gift. It's tough to manage, but if you can harness it, you can do great things with it.

Were you a wimpy kid? I was an average kid who had his wimpy moments. On our

swim team, they had something called the developmental meet. I didn't know that it was a meet only for the worst kids so that they could get a ribbon, and I'd show up with my friend who was also a terrible swimmer, and we would be amazed that the best kids hadn't bothered to show up. I didn't get it until after college.

As a Cub Scoutmaster, what's your take on the Boy Scouts' policy of banning gay scoutmasters and members? I think the policy has no place in

scouting, which values inclusiveness. The policy needs to change, and I'd like to be a part of bringing that about.

You're writing a seventh book. How's it going? Is Greg becoming a wimpy adult? The DNA of my characters is in comic strips, and the best cartoon characters never get older, so Greg will be frozen in a sort of a preadolescent amber forever. I feel like middle school is the last moment where a kid can actually be a kid, and it's a really fertile area for comedy. But that makes it harder to write. Something that has always interested me is how a band or a writer or an artist seems to have that spark and then it's gone. Is that because they get lazy or because they only have it for so long?

You have sold 75 million books. When you go to parties and you meet famous writers who sell, say, 25,000 books, what do they say?

When I go to a comics convention, I feel like a fraud because I never broke into newspapers, and when I go to a book convention, I feel like a fraud because I don't feel like I'm a real author, so I think I'm in this strange middle category. I don't think other authors think of me as a peer.

You live in Plainville, Mass. Do you think you may be taking this ordinary-guy shtick a little too far?

Oh, I actually was the guy behind the legal name change. It used to be Fancyville.

—BELINDA LUSCOMBE



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